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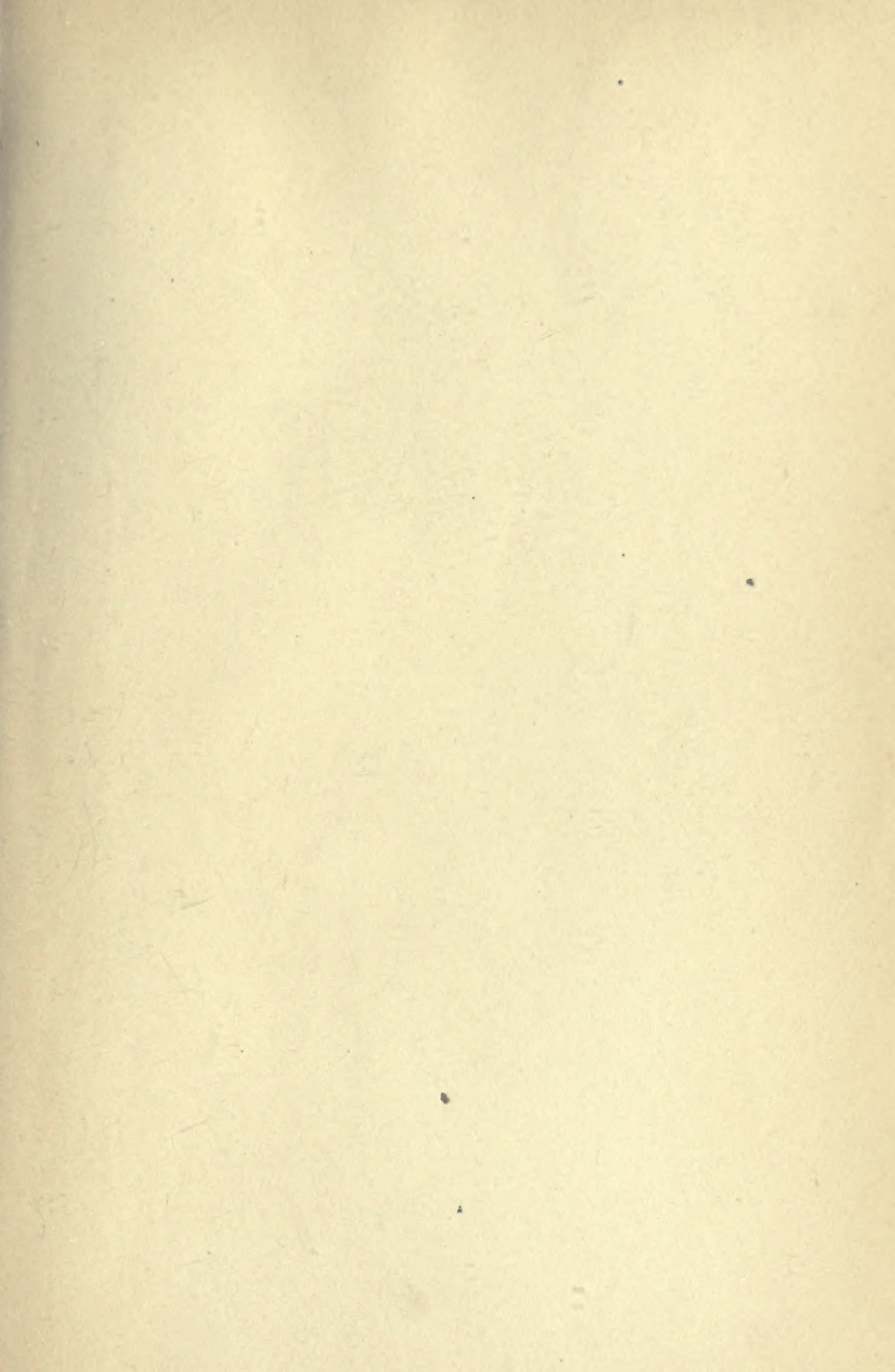
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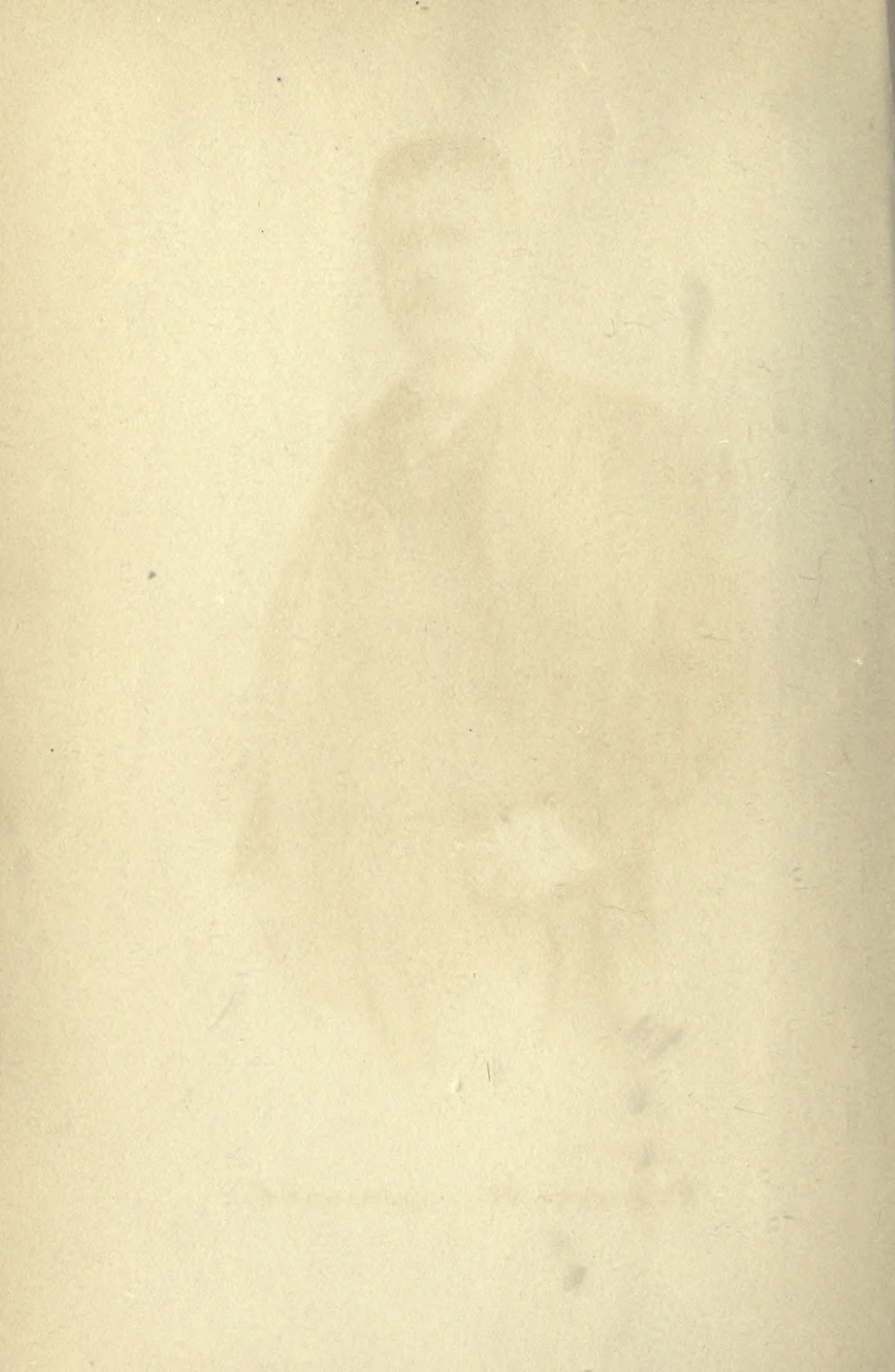
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A black and white studio portrait of Theodore Roosevelt. He is standing, facing slightly to the left but looking towards the camera. He has a mustache and is wearing a dark suit with a vest and a patterned tie. His right hand is in his pocket, and his left hand is resting on his hip. The background is a plain, light-colored studio backdrop.

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Theodore Roosevelt

The Republican Party

A History of its Fifty Years' Existence
and a Record of its Measures and Leaders

1854-1904

By

Francis Curtis

With a Foreword by President Roosevelt, and Introduc-
tions by William P. Frye, President *pro tempore*
U. S. Senate, and J. G. Cannon, Speaker
U. S. House of Representatives

In Two Volumes

II.

"Let us all consider the history and declarations of the great parties, and thoughtfully conclude which is the more likely to promote the general interests of our people."

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

"The Republican party was dedicated to freedom. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance."—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

G. P. Putnam's Sons

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FRANCIS CURTIS

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
THE LIBERAL-REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT—CONVENTIONS, PLATFORMS, CAMPAIGN, AND ELECTION OF 1872 . . .	1

CHAPTER II.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GRANT — PANIC OF 1873 — FINANCIAL MEASURES—JAMES G. BLAINE . . .	31
---	----

CHAPTER III.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1876—THE DISPUTED ELECTION—ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND ELECTION OF HAYES	43
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF HAYES—BLAND ACT—RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—CAMPAIGN OF 1880 AND ELECTION OF GARFIELD	65
---	----

CHAPTER V.

BRIEF TERM OF GARFIELD—ADMINISTRATION OF ARTHUR—TARIFF COMMISSION—CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM . . .	91
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

CONVENTIONS OF 1884 — NOMINATION OF BLAINE — THE "MORAL ISSUE"—ELECTION OF CLEVELAND . . .	116
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND—FREE-TRADE MESSAGE — A TARIFF DISCUSSION—THE MILLS BILL . . .	163
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

	PAGE
CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1888—THE TARIFF ISSUE— ELECTION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON	180

CHAPTER IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON—THE MCKINLEY BILL— SHERMAN SILVER-PURCHASE AND ANTI-TRUST LAWS	205
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

CONVENTIONS OF 1892—THE "HIGH PRICES" CAMPAIGN— DEMOCRATS ELECT PRESIDENT AND BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS	239
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND—REPEAL OF SHER- MAN LAW—THE GORMAN-WILSON TARIFF	271
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

BOND ISSUES—VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY QUESTION—TARIFF DEBATE IN THE HOUSE—SILVER DISCUSSION	304
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1896—THE SILVER QUES- TION—TRIUMPH OF MCKINLEY AND SOUND MONEY	317
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY—THE DINGLEY LAW—WAR WITH SPAIN—THE PHILIPPINES—CUBA—THE BOXER UPRISING	351
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1900—MCKINLEY AGAIN TRIUMPHS OVER BRYAN	386
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH OF MCKINLEY—ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT— PROSPERITY—RECIPROCITY—ARBITRATION	411
--	-----

Contents.

v

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION—THE ISTHMIAN CANAL—THE SAME GRAND OLD PARTY—CONCLUSIONS . . .	434
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEFECTIONS FROM THE PARTY—THE LIBERALS, MUGWUMPS, AND ANTIS—PARTY POLITICS . . .	462
---	-----

APPENDIX:—REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESS—NATIONAL REPUB- LICAN LEAGUE—AMERICAN PROTECTIVE-TARIFF LEAGUE —HOME-MARKET CLUB—MCKINLEY'S LAST SPEECH— THE ELEPHANT AND THE G. O. P.—TABLES, ETC.— REPUBLICAN PARTY OF 1904 . . .	491
--	-----

INDEX . . .	543
-------------	-----

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIBERAL-REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT—CONVENTIONS, PLATFORMS, CAMPAIGN, AND ELECTION OF 1872.

ALTHOUGH the work of reconstructing the Southern States had been nearly concluded before General Grant became President in 1869, still there was quite enough left to be done to necessitate legislation and bring both approval and criticism. Every State in the Union was fully represented in the Forty-first Congress, yet much of the Southern question was far from being settled. The Ku-Klux-Klan must in some way be thwarted, and to this end the so-called Ku-Klux act was passed.

The Ku-Klux-Klan was a secret organization which sprung up about 1867 in all parts of the South, and with the same end in view in the various locations where it existed. A Congressional investigation, made in 1871, disclosed some of the workings of this famous organization. From its constitution or prescript, as it was termed, the following was learned:

Their local lodges were called dens; the masters, cyclops; the members, ghouls. A county was a province; governed by grand giant and four goblins. A congressional district was a dominion, governed by a grand Titan and six furies. A State was a realm, governed by a grand dragon and eight hydras. The whole country was the empire, governed by a grand wizard and ten genii. Their

banner was triangular, a black dragon on a yellow field with a red border; their mysteries were never to be written, but only orally communicated; the distinctive feature of their dress was a covering for the head descending to the breast, holes being cut for eyes and mouth; the covering being decorated in any startling or fantastic manner. The order succeeded in its purpose; the midnight raids of men thus clad, who administered whippings or other punishment, had the effect intended, and the Ku-Klux became a terror to all negroes, keeping them either from exercising their political rights or else causing them to act with their persecutors. The order, however, outran its original purpose, and where mere whippings did not accomplish the desired end, as with Northern whites that had come South and with the bolder negroes, murder was resorted to.¹

President Grant made particularly emphatic his insistence that the Fourteenth Amendment should be enforced, even though the military arm of the Government was necessary in its execution. The Democratic party was quick to take advantage of the opportunity to criticise the administration for not having been able to bring about complete peace in the South without resorting to the army.

A large number of the so-called War Democrats, and even men who had left the Democratic party to join the Republican party during the war and the early reconstruction period were now restless and eager to build up again their old party on the lines which existed before the war. Besides these Democrats many Republicans were becoming dissatisfied with President Grant and certain of his acts. He gave himself openly and persistently to the scheme of annexing Santo Domingo to the United States. In 1869 the President had sent General Babcock to Santo Domingo for the purpose of reporting on the project of annexing it to the United States. The result was that a treaty of annexation was made on November 20th of the same year and was approved by a popular vote in Santo Domingo. The United States Senate was urged to ratify this treaty, some of the arguments being that it would secure a fine harbor for a coaling-station; would prevent the acquisition of that harbor by any foreign power; would free the slaves

¹ *A Dictionary of American Politics.*

there and also, perhaps, the slaves in Cuba and Brazil; and would secure a profitable possession for the United States. Soon, however, charges were made that all the promoters of the plan were private speculators, and it at once became discredited. In May, 1870, after the treaty had been modified somewhat, the President sent a special message to Congress urging ratification. On June 30th the Senate refused to ratify the treaty, and in January, 1871, in accordance with a message of the President of December 5, 1870, Congress agreed to the appointment of a commission to visit Santo Domingo and make a report upon the whole matter. The commission, which consisted of B. F. Wade, Andrew D. White, and S. G. Howe, visited Santo Domingo and made a favorable report, but the whole scheme was now so unpopular that it was practically abandoned. By his persistence in the matter the President had alienated Senator Sumner and Horace Greeley, both of whom had many followers in the Republican party.

Another objection made to the President by certain Republicans was the matter of appointments, both in number and name. The President had adopted the custom, which has been prevalent since, of making his appointments upon the recommendation of State leaders. Of course disappointments were many, and his plan was bitterly denounced by those who were not successful. The great mass of Republicans, however, supported the President, and even some who were ready to admit that he had made mistakes and errors of judgment still believed that he was the best man to continue in his office and carry out the task that remained to be completed regarding the complete restoration of the South, and the execution of the laws which had been made to govern the reconstructed States.

The first nominating convention of 1872 was held in February at Columbus, Ohio. On the 21st of that month the so-called "Labor Reformers" from seventeen States assembled for the purpose of adopting a platform and nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. The permanent president of the convention was Mr. E. N. Chamberlain of Massachusetts. A platform of considerable length was finally

decided upon. An informal ballot for a candidate for President was followed by three formal ballots, when David Davis of Illinois secured 201 of the 211 votes cast. Joel Parker of New Jersey was then nominated for Vice-President. Both Judge Davis and Judge Parker afterwards declined the nominations, and Charles O'Connor of New York was nominated for President, no further nomination for Vice-President being made.

It was in this canvass that the present Prohibition party first made its appearance. One hundred and ninety-four delegates from nine States assembled at Columbus, Ohio, on February 22d. Samuel Chase of that State was made president of the convention, and the platform given out was so long that but few papers attempted to print it, giving only abstracts. James Black of Pennsylvania and John Russell of Michigan were nominated respectively for President and Vice-President.

The beginning of the opposition to President Grant can be traced to Missouri, where in 1870 a fusion was completed between certain Republicans and the Democrats, which became known as the "Liberal movement." The State election was carried by the fusionists, and the movement was further developed the following year. On January 24, 1872, the so-called Liberals of Missouri issued a call for a national convention to be held at Cincinnati on May 1st following. As the party had no organization whatever, it was apparent that no regularity concerning delegates could be maintained. It is doubtful if the leaders of that movement themselves had any definite idea as to what would be the outcome of their gathering. Some, it is true, pleaded for a new party, while others thought that the movement would be simply a transition from the Republican party to the Democratic party; still others thought that the movement would be influential only, their desire being, as they expressed it, "To reform—not to defeat—the Republican party." A large majority of those interested in the Liberal movement were Free-Traders, and their places were naturally with the Democratic party.

As the time went on and the date of the convention neared, the only cry heard was, "Anything to beat Grant!" The

Democrats throughout the North were in high glee that the so-called split in the Republican party had come, and were ready to accept the choice of the Liberal Republicans if a so-called independent Democrat should be nominated and a Free-Trade plank inserted in their platform. Perhaps Mr. Greeley and the *Tribune* were the only exceptions to the Free-Trade idea involved in the new movement. The candidates for the new party were numerous and included Judge David Davis, Governor John M. Palmer, and Senator Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, ex-Secretary Jacob D. Cox and Chief-Justice Chase of Ohio, and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts.

While the name of Horace Greeley had been mentioned in connection with the nomination, his candidacy was treated more as a joke than at any time in earnest. Undoubtedly Mr. Adams was the choice of the East, while he also had many friends in the West; but he himself, before sailing for Europe as arbitrator at Geneva on the *Alabama* claims, had written a letter to David A. Wells expressing his indifference regarding the nomination and declaring his unwillingness to authorize any one to speak for him, and added that if he was expected to make any pledges, "you will please draw me out of that crowd."

Although the nomination of Mr. Adams was constantly urged up to the day of the convention, yet many influential Democrats had sent word that if Mr. Adams should be nominated, he would not be endorsed by the Democratic Convention. The convention itself was simply a conglomeration, a gathering of the good, bad, and indifferent. There were present many men of character and pure motives, many whose motives were simply that of retaliation, and a considerable following of neutral politicians without rank or influence. Stanley Matthews of Ohio was elected temporary chairman, and General Carl Schurz, then of Missouri, was elected permanent president of the convention. Although nineteen twentieths of the so-called delegates present were Free-Traders at heart, so potent was the cry, "Anything to beat Grant!" that a resolution was adopted which had been prepared by Mr.

Greeley relegating the whole tariff question to the rear. The following platform was finally adopted :

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1872.

The administration now in power has rendered itself guilty of wanton disregard of the laws of the land, and of usurping powers not granted by the Constitution; it has acted as if the laws had binding force only for those who were governed, and not for those who govern. It has thus struck a blow at the fundamental principles of constitutional government and the liberties of the citizen.

The President of the United States has openly used the powers and opportunities of his high office for the promotion of personal ends.

He has kept notoriously corrupt and unworthy men in places of power and responsibility, to the detriment of the public interest.

He has used the public service of the government as a machinery of corruption and personal influence, and has interfered with tyrannical arrogance in the political affairs of States and municipalities.

He has rewarded with influential and lucrative offices men who had acquired his favor by valuable presents, thus stimulating the demoralization of our political life by his conspicuous example.

He has shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office.

The partisans of the administration, assuming to be the Republican party and controlling its organization, have attempted to justify such wrongs and palliate such abuses to the end of maintaining partisan ascendancy.

They have stood in the way of necessary investigations and indispensable reforms, pretending that no serious fault could be found with the present administration of public affairs, thus seeking to blind the eyes of the people.

They have kept alive the passions and resentments of the late civil war, to use them for their own advantage; they have resorted to arbitrary measures in direct conflict with the organic law, instead of appealing to the better instincts and latent patriotism of the Southern people by restoring to them those rights the enjoyment of which is indispensable to a successful administration of their local affairs, and would tend to revive a patriotic and hopeful national feeling.

They have degraded themselves and the name of their party, once justly entitled to the confidence of the nation, by a base sycophancy to the dispenser of executive power and patronage, unworthy of Republican freemen; they have sought to silence the voice of just criticism, and stifle the moral sense of the people, and to subjugate public opinion by tyrannical party discipline.

They are striving to maintain themselves in authority for selfish ends by an unscrupulous use of the power which rightfully belongs to the people, and should be employed only in the service of the country.

Believing that an organization thus led and controlled can no longer be of service to the best interests of the republic, we have resolved to make an independent appeal to the sober judgment, conscience, and patriotism of the American people.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of the person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions,

and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and, recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of soldiers and sailors of the republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

The convention then proceeded to the nominations, six formal ballots showing the following results:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th
Charles Francis Adams, Massachusetts	203	243	264	279	258	324
Horace Greeley, New York.....	147	245	258	251	309	332
Lyman Trumbull, Illinois.....	110	148	156	141	81	19
B. Gratz Brown, Missouri.....	95	2	2	2	2	..
David Davis, Illinois.....	92½	75	41	51	30	6
Andrew G. Curtin, Pennsylvania.....	62
Salmon P. Chase, Ohio.....	2½	1	24	32

Before the result of the sixth ballot was announced, the various changes of votes made the result for Greeley 482, for Adams 187. On a motion to make the nomination of Mr. Greeley unanimous the negative votes were too numerous to be counted. B. Gratz Brown of Missouri was nominated for Vice-President, the second ballot being made unanimous.

The result of the convention was looked upon by most loyal Republicans as simply a farce, and it was treated with considerable derision. Horace Greeley was probably the most unique man in the history of American politics. No one can ever question his honesty, his ability, or his sincerity. Perhaps the word "eccentric" would best define his sometimes inexplicable and erratic utterances and acts. He had at different times been for and against the most prominent men in the country, not excluding himself. He had, no doubt, been very ambitious and desirous of public office, and had met with many disappointments. Probably the nomination now for the Presidency gave him as much surprise as it did the people of the whole country; but the work was done, and the Liberal Republicans must accept the result of their movement and try to influence the Democratic party to accept their candidate and platform. This was more easily accomplished than was at first thought possible.

The following is taken from the *Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1872:

Many liberal Republicans were dissatisfied with the nomination of Mr. Greeley, and a meeting was held in Steinway Hall, New

York, on May 30th, composed of such persons. Their sympathies were in favor of the adoption of a less rigid protective policy than was to be expected under Mr. Greeley. In compliance with the views of this meeting, a conference was subsequently held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, on June 20th, of persons invited as follows:

NEW YORK, June 6, 1872.

The undersigned desire to have a conference of gentlemen who are opposed to the present Administration and its continuance in office, and deem it necessary that all the elements of the opposition should be united for a common effort at the coming presidential election.

They respectfully invite you to meet a number of gentlemen belonging to the different branches of the opposition, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, on June 20, at 2 P.M., for the purpose of consultation, and to take such action as the situation of things may require.

Your attention is respectfully drawn to the fact that this invitation is strictly personal to yourself, and a prompt reply is earnestly requested, addressed to Henry D. Lloyd, secretary of the committee, post-office box 2,209.

CARL SCHURZ,
JACOB D. COX,
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
OSWALD OTTENDORFER,
DAVID A. WELLS,
JACOB BRINKERHOFF.

A series of resolutions was adopted, and Wm. S. Groesbeck of Ohio nominated for President, and Frederick L. Olmstead of New York for Vice-President. During the excitement of the canvass, this ticket was entirely forgotten.

It appears strange that the president of the Cincinnati Convention and others who participated should lend themselves to a still further liberal or independent movement.

Although the Democrats had determined upon endorsing the Liberal Republican candidates, yet they were not entirely unanimous on that point. Their convention met on July 9th at Baltimore, Maryland. Thomas Jefferson Randolph of Virginia was chosen as temporary chairman, and ex-Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin was selected as permanent president of the convention. The Cincinnati platform was reported and accepted without change, although strongly opposed by Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware. The

vote upon this question was 670 to 62. A formal ballot was taken for nominating the candidates for President and Vice-President. Mr. Greeley received 686 out of the 720 votes cast for President, while B. Gratz Brown of Missouri received 713 for Vice-President.

The call for the National Union Republican Convention of 1872 read as follows:

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the Convention held at Chicago on the 20th of May, 1868, hereby call a Convention of the Union Republican Party at the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 5th day of June next, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State is authorized to be represented in the Convention by delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which it will be entitled in the next National Congress, and each organized Territory is authorized to send two delegates.

In calling this Convention, the Committee remind the country that the promises of the Union Republican Convention of 1868 have been fulfilled. The States lately in rebellion have been restored to their former relations to the Government. The laws of the country have been faithfully executed, public faith has been preserved, and the national credit firmly established. Governmental economy has been illustrated by the reduction, at the same time, of the public debt and of taxation; and the funding of the national debt at a lower rate of interest has been successfully inaugurated. The rights of naturalized citizens have been protected by treaties, and immigration encouraged by liberal provisions. The defenders of the Union have been gratefully remembered, and the rights and interests of labor recognized. Laws have been enacted, and are being enforced, for the protection of persons and property in all sections. Equal suffrage has been engrafted on the National Constitution; the privileges and immunities of American citizenship have become a part of the organic law, and a liberal policy has been adopted toward all who engaged in the rebellion. Complications in foreign relations have been adjusted in the interest of peace throughout the world, while the national honor has been maintained. Corruption has been exposed, offenders punished, responsibility enforced, safeguards established, and now, as heretofore, the Republican Party stands

The Republican Party.

pledged to correct all abuses and carry out all reforms necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the public service. To continue and firmly establish its fundamental principles, we invite the co-operation of all of the citizens of the United States.

WILLIAM CLAFLIN of Massachusetts,
Chairman.

On the date designated, William Claflin of Massachusetts, chairman of the National Committee, called the convention to order at the city of Philadelphia. Morton McMichael of Pennsylvania was chosen temporary chairman, and in his address spoke as follows:

The malcontents who recently met at Cincinnati were without a constituency; the Democrats who are soon to meet at Baltimore will be without a principle. The former, having no motive in common but personal disappointment, attempted a fusion of repelling elements, which has resulted in explosion; the latter, degraded from the high estate they once occupied, propose an abandonment of their identity, which means death. Unlike the first, you are the authentic exponents of a great national organization, based upon principles

Firm as the marble, founded as the rock ;
As broad and general as the casing air :

unlike the last, your object is to preserve, not to destroy. And, gentlemen, differing from both these in character and aims, you will differ no less in the nature of your deliberations. On the subject which has most perplexed, and must continue to perplex their councils, in yours, rather let me say in ours, there will be absolute harmony. With us the selection of a Presidential candidate is a foregone conclusion. In that regard the people have decided for us in advance, and we have only to put their will into proper shape by formally nominating Ulysses S. Grant. And with the blessing of God we shall not only make that nomination without demur, without debate, without dissent, but we shall make it under such auspices as will insure its complete and abundant ratification at the polls.

It does not need, nor, considering my temporary occupation of this chair, would it be suitable that I should enter into any elaborate commentary as to the merits of our candidate. But this I will say,

that notwithstanding all the malignant venom that has been spit at him; all the odious calumnies that have been heaped upon him; all the disgraceful slanders that have been circulated in regard to him, General Grant at this moment enjoys more of the confidence of his countrymen, is believed by them to be an honest, truer, and better man than any of his detractors. No one in our day has been more causelessly, more shamelessly vilified; no one will be more thoroughly vindicated. The great heart of the American people beats responsively to truth and justice, and as they have tried and tested and trust him; as they know that his administration has been wise and faithful; as they have seen the nation prosper under his rule as it has never before prospered, they will stand by and defend, and, when the ballot-box gives them a chance to do so, avenge him. Remembering the sore trials which, along with his fellow-soldiers, he underwent during the war, his sacrifices of ease and comfort, his perils by day and by night, the exposure by means of which those who now revile him were able to secure luxurious repose at a safe distance from danger, they are quite willing that he should indulge in "palace cars and cigars and seaside loiterings," and they mean to furnish him with the opportunity of enjoying these for at least four years to come.

Several prominent Republicans were called upon to address the convention, among others General John A. Logan, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: There is nothing that would delight me more, if I were capable of doing so, than to entertain you with a speech. I know I ought not to judge, but if you will allow me to be the judge on this occasion, I will suggest that I do not think that this is the time, so far as I am concerned. I am so out of voice from an effort last night that I am physically unable to address you at any great length, nor do I think it would be proper for me to attempt it.

There are a great many gentlemen here whom I know you are anxious to hear; men who are able, men who are eloquent, and men you have not heard before.

A Delegate. We want to hear a few words from Logan.

Senator Logan (resuming). I will only say, then, for I very certainly cannot attempt to detain you with a speech, that if the people of this whole land to-day could see this convention assembled,

its appearance and the manifestations of enthusiasm at the mention of the name of the man whom you intend to present to the American people to be voted for for President, it would gladden the national heart. I am proud, and I am glad to know, that to-day, after four years' trial of the President of the United States, when you come here to Philadelphia to repeat what you did four years ago—his nomination—there exists more enthusiasm in the midst of the delegates, four to one, than we found when we first presented him to the American people.

This only proves the fact that he has done well. He has performed the duty that you imposed upon him to your entire satisfaction. And you come here to repeat, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou hast been faithful over a few things, we will make thee ruler over many things."

He was followed by the venerable Gerrit Smith, who headed the New York delegation. Senator O. P. Morton of Indiana then followed, saying, among other things:

I ask you to-day, what are the duties before us? First, in regard to those questions which concern the administration. It is the duty of the Republican party to perfect our national financial system; gradually but surely, not by violence, or spasmodic efforts, to bring our currency to par. We are certainly and safely approaching that event. We do not propose to accomplish it by violent action, but by using the natural causes which are now at work, we shall place the credit of the nation upon a higher basis than it ever occupied before, and upon a higher basis than that occupied by the credit of any other nation. We shall do this by faithfully performing all our promises; by keeping our contracts in the spirit and the letter; and by the gradual but certain reduction of the public debt.

While we shall carry out to the letter the present policy we have on hand, while we have nothing new on the subject (and I may say in regard to platforms that it is scarcely necessary for this convention to adopt one, for the platform of the Republican party is found in its history for the last ten years, and it is to be found in the present policy of the administration)—I say, while we shall do this, it is for us to carry out and consecrate the reforms upon which this Administration has already entered, for our work is not done in regard to those great measures which have grown out of the war.

It is for the Republican party to establish the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to plant them in the Constitution, beyond peradventure, so that they shall be recognized by all parties; so that there shall no longer be any considerable party in this country which shall dare to question the legality or the validity of these amendments. It is for the Republican party to establish fully the rights of the colored men of this country. Our work will not be done until they shall be conceded by all parties, and they shall have the full and free enjoyment of their rights in every portion of this country; until they shall be in the full enjoyment not only of all their political but of all their civil rights.

Our work will not be done until there shall be equal protection under the law extended to men of every race and color, and to all men of all political views in every part of the United States. The mission of the Republican party will not be performed as long as there shall remain a Ku-Klux organization in any State of this Union, for that organization but sleeps in some of the States, and it will awake to active, terrible life, shortly before the Presidential election, if there shall not be proper legislation, if there shall not be a firm, bold administration of the Government which shall afford protection to all. . . .

Fellow-citizens, I believe that the salvation of this country, I believe that our greatest and best interests, are bound up with the continued predominance of the Republican party for years to come. I am not an advocate of the Republican party merely as a partisan, but because it has been the great instrumentality by which this country has been saved in the past, and by which, in my judgment, it must be preserved in the future. In a Government like ours there are, there must be, parties. Men entertaining similar principles must act together; they cannot act together without organization and co-operation, and that makes a party. When you have broken this party down, what security will you have that you can ever get another which will carry out and consummate its work. Stand fast by principle. Look to the future, and be guided by the light of the past. Sometimes a great light is extinguished; sometimes one of those to whom the people have been accustomed to look up falls by the wayside. We may drop a tear of regret, but we should not pause. Remember that the Republican party is greater than any man. It is much greater than all its leaders combined. But among the greatest of our statesmen and politicians a great

many errors are committed. It is said that General Grant has committed his errors. I do not deny it; but I am happy to say that most of them are trivial. They do not go to the essence and substance of his administration, and some of those who now oppose him have committed a greater error. Any man who supposes that he has strength enough to break up the Republican party will commit a very grave blunder. Any man who supposes he can lead the Republican party into the ranks of the Democratic party, by means of any back door or back stairs, for the sake of plunder, commits a very great blunder.

Several men who have been distinguished in the Republican party, whom we have been looking up to as leaders and pioneers, have committed this mistake; but when they have made this mistake they have been dropped and passed away forever, and there has been no perceptible influence produced upon the party. A pebble dropped into a pool produces a ripple for a little while, but it very soon becomes placid; you cannot tell by looking at the surface of the pool what has happened. So, the greatest man in the Republican party, if he shall be unfaithful to its principles; if, by reason of personal disappointment or irritation he shall still endeavor to destroy its organization, or betray it into the hands of its enemies, he will sink out of sight, to disturb the surface of the political world as little as the pebble when dropped into the lake.

A considerable interest was taken in the remarks of Governor James L. Orr of South Carolina, who followed Senator Morton. His address included the following:

I come, gentlemen of the convention, from the Ku-Klux region, and I desired and intended to have availed myself of the occasion some time, whilst in Philadelphia, to present to you some statistics which would perhaps enlighten you in respect to the outcry which has been raised by the Democratic party in the Southern States, and in the North and West also, about the outrages that have been committed. In South Carolina, as you are aware, in nine counties the writ of *Habeas Corpus* has been suspended—in a little over one-fourth of the entire State. The suspension embraced those counties where it was insisted that the State government was unable—it is unnecessary for me to discuss why—to give protection to men whose only offence was their political opinions and

sentiments. They were colored men and white men, and when they went to sleep at night they had no guarantee that they would not be taken out of their beds at the dead hour of night; taken out and scourged, or else balls put through their bodies. This action on the part of President Grant was not taken until the Legislature of South Carolina passed resolutions and sent messengers to him calling upon him to send the forces of the United States Government there to give them protection. With reference to this Ku-Klux law President Grant had to execute the law. It was in the statute-book, and he was called upon to execute it by that tribunal which had the right to call upon him.

Governor Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois spoke next, and in turn was followed by William H. Grey, a colored delegate from Arkansas, who said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: For the first time, perhaps, in the history of the American people, there stands before you in a National Convention assembled, a representative of that oppressed race that has lived among you for two hundred and fifty years, lifted by the magnanimity of this great nation, by the power of God and the laws of war, from the degradation of slavery to the proud position of American citizenship. Words fail me, upon this occasion, to thank you for this evidence of the grandest progress in civilization, when a people of such magnitude, the grandest and greatest nation upon the face of the earth, not only in the recognition of the merits and of the glory of the war which her noble sons waged so successfully, have, in convention assembled, been willing to listen not only to the greatest of her orators, but to the humblest citizens of this great Republic.

I scarcely know where to begin upon an occasion like the present. If I raise the curtain of the past, then I open the doors of the sarcophagus from which we have but just emerged. If I should go back to the primary history of my race in this country, I would open up, perhaps, to discussion things and circumstances that would make us blush, and the blood in our cheeks tingle in view of the evidences of the shameful and horrible condition—such in its degradation as the American people have never thought of—from which we have just escaped.

But this is scarcely necessary. We are ready to say in the words

of the Good Book, "Let the dead Past bury its dead." While we remember these errors, while we remember all these degradations, there is no vengeance, thank God, found in our hearts. No revengeful feelings, no desire of retaliation. But God has given us a heart to thank the American people for the position in which we stand to-day, and we are willing, as I said before, to "let the dead Past bury its dead," and to go on in our progress and fit ourselves to become what we have been made by law, American citizens in deed and in fact. It is the wonder of the world, the miracle of the nineteenth century, that in this tremendous struggle which rocked this great country from centre to circumference, that amid the debris of two hundred and fifty years, a living people were found by this great nation and lifted from degradation, as it were, by the strong arm of power, and at once, without preparation and without forethought, placed upon the broad plane of American citizenship. If we have failed somewhat in the sanguine expectation of our friends yet, upon the whole, I think we have fairly worked out the problem so far as we have gone.

To-day, for the first time, God has pleased me with the sight of that grand, noble old man, Gerrit Smith, who stood by us and for us when we could not stand for ourselves. The sight of him repays me for all the toil, all the suffering, all the pain of years. The sight of him renews my faith in that humanity which is divine. We are here to-day, gentlemen, a part and parcel of this great people, an integral part of the great body of this country, and here for the purpose, in harmony with you, of entrusting the reins of power into the hands of that hero who led us through a great and bloody struggle of years into the bright sunshine of liberty; led us out to citizenship and who, when the war ended and he was nominated for President, in 1868, said, "Let us have peace." The solving of the problem of our citizenship has been the work of years. No one knew how that position was to be brought about. But few men could comprehend the situation or the political position of affairs in the South. Few men knew.

I happened to be present on that occasion, in Chicago, in 1868, when General Grant was nominated, and I know very well, and there are men here who can attest it, that through that political contest it cost the lives of over three hundred black men in Arkansas to carry the State for Ulysses S. Grant. To-day the problem is being worked out to further solution. The Ku-Klux

problem is being worked out. The Ku-Klux situation is settled, and the peace of the country secured. But, had it not been for the passage of the Ku-Klux law and the man at the helm who had the nerve to execute it, that organization would be to-day in full venom in that section of the country. Therefore we urge upon the American people to give us Ulysses S. Grant for our candidate, for his name is a tower of strength at the South, and the only name that unrepentant rebels respect. He is the man who is to work out the great problem now being solved in this country by the great Republican party;—as has been truly said, that problem has not yet been solved;—its duties are not entirely fulfilled; its organization must not yet be disintegrated. The full measure of our citizenship is not yet complete. We stand, many of us, in a prominent position in the Southern States; but right among the people where we hold these positions the law is so weak and the public sentiment so perverse that the common civilities of a citizen are withheld from us. We want the Civil Rights bill. We ask of the American people as the natural result of their own action that we shall be respected as men among men, and as free American citizens. We do not ask that for any small reason. There are always two classes of people we have to be afraid of: that class who love us too well and that class who hate us too bad.

All we ask is a fair chance in the race of life. Give us the same privileges and opportunity that are given to other men. I hope the action of this Convention will be such that we may be able to go home rejoicing. So far as the colored people of the South are concerned, they are a unit to-day for Ulysses S. Grant. I know they told us after the Cincinnati Convention that "you niggers can now go for the father of Republicanism, Horace Greeley." When we objected to this on the ground that he was not the Republican nominee they said, "He is the father of Republicanism." Said I: "Very well; if that is so I thank him for having been the father of such a brood of illustrious and loyal men, but I fear, like Abraham of old, he takes Hagar instead of Sarah, and we cannot afford that."

This is the inheritance of the free woman. This is the legitimate inheritance; these are the legitimate offspring, and we are going to keep the boys at home. I am very much afraid that, like Hagar and Ishmael, the old lady will have to hunt water in the wilderness. The black people stand solid together. They know intuitively who

is their friend ; they know full well there is no standing for them outside the Republican party. They know they cannot afford to vote for men who say to them when they desire to vote, "You have got your rights now ; what more do you want ?" They cannot afford to vote for men who have refused to acknowledge or carry out the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. They cannot afford to vote against their own manhood, and they will not do it. Thank God, the colored men are Grant men with scarcely an exception to-day. God grant that the Republican party may close up its ranks and solidly march together, and victory will perch on its banners in the coming contest.

R. B. Elliott, a member of Congress from South Carolina, and a Mr. Harris of North Carolina, both colored delegates, followed in short speeches. Before the close of the day's proceedings the Committee on Organization presented the name of Thomas Settle of North Carolina for permanent chairman of the convention, and General H. H. Bingham of Philadelphia as permanent secretary. Judge Settle briefly addressed the convention as follows :

Gentlemen of the Convention : I thank you for the distinction of presiding over the deliberations of the greatest party in the greatest power on earth ; and I accept it, not so much as a personal tribute to myself, as the right hand of fellowship extended from our magnanimous sisters of the North to the erring, wayward, punished, regenerated patriotic sisters of the South.

We have high duties to perform. We have assembled to name the man who shall administer the laws of the great Republic for the next four years ; but our duties are plain. We shall be recreant to every trust and fail to respond to the vibrations of every patriotic heart if we do not, with one voice, name the soldier and patriot, Ulysses S. Grant, for the next President.

We of the South recognize and demand him as a necessity for law and order in that portion of the country and for the freedom of all men. It is not proper that I should detain you with extended remarks this evening. I shall therefore assume the duties which you have imposed upon me and I shall be very glad if an opportunity is afforded me to address you at greater length later in the session and when our labors shall have closed.

On the second day a communication from the Union League of America was presented to the convention, on motion it was consented that the communication be read, which was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, June 5, 1872.

To the President and Members of the National Republican Convention :

Agreeably to the action of the National Council of the Union League of America, at its meeting in this city on the 4th instant, we have the honor to present to you the accompanying paper, expressive of the views and principles of the organization which we represent.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. GEARY, *President.*

T. G. BAKER, *Secretary.*

JAMES BUCHANAN, New Jersey,
W. J. P. WHITE, Pennsylvania,
T. L. CARDOZA, South Carolina,
WILLIAM A. COOK, District of Columbia,
C. C. PINCKNEY, New York,
J. H. HARRIS, North Carolina,
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas.

Committee.

The members of *The Union League of America, in National Council* assembled, do hereby affirm their adherence to the following sentiments and principles :

First. We reject, as utterly unfounded, the idea that the mission of the Republican party has been accomplished, and that no necessity exists for its continuance. By its principles and actions the nation was saved during the period of the late rebellion, and by them must it be preserved and exalted in coming time.

Second. Whatever may be its pretences, the Democratic party remains unchanged in character and ultimate purposes. What it was from April, 1861, to April, 1865, it still is, and will continue to be. Incapable of reform or improvement, it will always be unfit to direct or govern the nation.

Third. In the so-called Liberal Republican party we find no at-

tractive political virtue and no important distinctive principle. It is manifestly an organization created by personal designs, and by feelings so embittered and intense that it is prepared and solicitous to form an alliance with the Democratic party, as the only possible method of accomplishing its narrow and unjustifiable purposes. This fact alone develops its true nature ; and it requires no other to present it to the people, as inherently base and ignoble and altogether undeserving of their approval and support.

Fourth. All American citizens, without distinction of race, color, or religion, are entitled to the same civil and political rights, and to equal and exact justice before the laws, subject to the Constitution of the United States.

Fifth. The system of terrorism which so long infested, and still exists, in some portions of the South, must be put down at all hazards, and the guilty parties punished as other outlaws and murderers are punished.

Sixth. We earnestly urge the House of Representatives to pass the civil rights and enforcement bills pending before it ; and it is our profound conviction that Congress should not adjourn until these bills shall become laws.

Seventh. The wisdom of the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution has been fully demonstrated by their practical operation, and we will earnestly oppose any attempt, open or insidious, to either repeal them or weaken their force.

Eighth. We believe the national debt, contracted to save the life of the nation, should be paid to the uttermost farthing, according to the letter and spirit of the laws which authorized it. This payment should be steady but gradual, so as to avert oppressive taxation, and distribute a portion of the burden upon the vastly increased wealth and population of future years.

Ninth. All tariff and internal taxation needed for the reduction of the public debt and for the support of the Government should be so adjusted as to bear with least weight upon the laboring classes, and to foster and encourage the industries of the nation, which are the foundation of all national prosperity.

Tenth. We favor the reform of the civil service so that capacity and integrity, and not political influence alone, shall be the tests for office ; and we have no faith in the accomplishment of that reform by the party which originated the maxim, "To the victor be-

long the spoils," and which has faithfully observed the maxim whenever there were any spoils to divide.

Eleventh. The administration of President Grant is one which is approved by the calm, sober sense of the nation, and, however, much it may be misrepresented by those whose hatred of the man dates back to the times of his victories over the rebels in the field, or by others whose narrow jealousies or ambitious aspirations have led them to array themselves against him, the facts that during his administration three hundred and thirty-two millions of the public debt have been paid; the premium on gold has become nearly nominal; the revenue taxes have been greatly reduced and faithfully collected; civil service reform has been successfully inaugurated; and an acquiescence, real or pretended, in all the cardinal principles the Republican party had urged during the past years, been obtained, have strengthened his hold upon the confidence of the people no less than his splendid victories in the field had endeared him to their hearts.

On motion of George B. Loring of Massachusetts the convention unanimously adopted the resolutions and ordered them put on the records of the convention and presented with the proceedings. Following this, addresses were made by General George W. Carter of Texas, who was an ex-Confederate officer; Paul Strobach of Alabama, Emory A. Storrs of Illinois, Ex-Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, and Governor E. F. Noyes of Ohio. A motion having been made and carried that the convention proceed to the selection of a candidate for President, Mr. Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois ascended the platform and said:

Gentlemen of the Convention : On behalf of the great Republican party of Illinois and that of the Union — in the name of liberty, of loyalty, of justice, and of law — in the interest of economy, of good government, of peace, and of the equal rights of all—remembering with profound gratitude his glorious achievements in the field and his noble statesmanship as Chief Magistrate of this great nation — *I nominate as President of the United States, for a second term, Ulysses S. Grant.*

The nomination was followed by tumultuous applause and

the wildest excitement. After quiet had been restored, Governor Stewart L. Woodford of New York and M. D. Boruck of California seconded the nomination. The call of the roll of States then ensued with the following result: Number of delegates, 752—for Ulysses S. Grant, 752. Prolonged cheering followed the announcement, and a few moments were spent singing campaign and patriotic songs. The nomination for Vice-President then followed, but before a ballot was taken Mr. Schofield of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, said:

The Committee on Resolutions are now prepared to report a platform. Governor Hawley of Connecticut, who acted as secretary to the committee, will read the report. I beg gentlemen to remember, as it is read, that the committee had but a very short time to consider a great number of subjects which were presented; and that while every gentleman may not find in our report everything he may desire, it will be observed that the committee have shown no disposition to avoid any question which is agitating the country at the present time. The committee have not been content to repose, as perhaps they might have done, upon the laurels of the party, and refer simply to its past record, but have made expression upon all the great questions of the day. I will not detain the Convention, because you are all anxious to hear what has been done. We submit it now, from the lips of Governor Hawley, to your judgment.

Governor Hawley then read the resolutions as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1872.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia on the fifth and sixth days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

I. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily

decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year. Great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured these amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make

honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"Once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent

and treasonable organization in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider spheres of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the States and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or the national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the vice-presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

The last plank was inserted after the nomination of Wilson.

The first ballot for a candidate for Vice-President was then taken, which resulted as follows:

Whole number.....	752
Necessary to a choice.....	377
Henry Wilson of Massachusetts	399½
Schuyler Colfax of Indiana	308½
Horace Maynard of Tennessee	26
Edmund J. Davis of Texas	16
Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut	1
Edward F. Noyes of Ohio	1

The nomination of Henry Wilson was immediately made unanimous by a rising vote, and the convention adjourned without day.

In spite of the sneers cast by the Republicans against the Liberal Republican action and its endorsement by the Democratic party, there was undoubtedly a large movement immediately following the conventions, which gave encouragement to the fusionists, but soon the business interests of the country frowned upon the candidacy of Greeley and predicted the disasters that would follow his election. As showing how much confidence the supporters of Greeley had in their candidate, the following from A. K. McClure's *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* will be found interesting:

The friends of Greeley said that if elected President his safety would be in having about him an able, faithful and discreet Cabinet, and they feared that in the kindness of his heart he would become complicated with those who sought to importune him for preferment. In order to keep him from visitors he was then hidden away in a private upstairs room in Brooklyn, where I was directed to call on my mission.

I never saw a happier face than that of Greeley when I met him, as he was then entirely confident of success, and in a very kind and facetious way he reminded me that I had underestimated his strength with the people. When opportunity came in conversation I suggested to him, that a man who was elected President by a combination of opposing political interests would have very grave and complicated duties to perform, and that he should especially avoid any Cabinet complications. With the simplicity and confidence of a child his answer was: "Don't misunderstand me; you ought to

know that I would appoint no Cabinet officer from your section without your approval." He was surprised to find that I was not there to obtain promises, but to warn him against the peril of saying to others just what he had said to me, and after reviewing the conditions he agreed that his only safety was in avoiding all obligations relating to appointments until the duty confronted him.

He asked me to go to North Carolina and give a week to the campaign in that State, and to that I agreed, although I was in charge of the Pennsylvania battle. That was the last time that I saw Horace Greeley. After the disastrous elections of October, which clearly foreshadowed his defeat, he made New England and Western tours, and delivered speeches which well compare with the grandest utterances of our best statesmanship. But the tide against him was resistless, and while nursing a dying wife and worn out by his ceaseless offices of affection, the blow came that clouded one of the noblest, purest, and ablest of the great men of the land. The two chieftains of the political contest of 1872 were brought together soon after the victor and vanquished were declared, as President Grant stood at the tomb of Horace Greeley to pay the last tribute of himself and the nation to the fallen philanthropist.

The early elections in the fall showed that the drift of public opinion was with the Republicans, and that Grant would win easily. Many of those who had instituted and swelled the Liberal movement became disgusted, some even silently returning to their party. It can be said that Liberal Republicanism died on the night of the presidential election of 1872. The result of that election will be found on the following page. The votes of Louisiana and Arkansas and three of the votes of Georgia, cast for Greeley, were rejected by Congress.

The death of Greeley before the meeting of the Electoral College resulted in a scattering of the anti-Grant vote, 42 being cast for Hendricks, 18 for Brown, 2 for Jenkins, and 1 for Davis. The vice-presidential vote was scattered among seven candidates besides Brown.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois	Horace Greeley, New York	Charles O'Connor, New York	James Black, Pennsylvania	Grant and Wilson	Opposition
Alabama	90,272	79,444			10	
Arkansas	41,373	37,927			6	
California	54,020	40,718	1,068		6	
Connecticut	50,638	45,880	204	206	6	
Delaware	11,115	10,206	487		3	
Florida	17,763	15,427			4	
Georgia	62,550	76,356	4,000			11
Illinois	241,944	184,938	3,058		21	
Indiana	186,147	163,632	1,417		15	
Iowa	131,566	71,196	2,221		11	
Kansas	67,048	32,970	596		5	
Kentucky	88,766	99,995	2,374			12
Louisiana ¹	71,663	57,029			8	
Louisiana ²	59,975	66,467				
Maine	61,422	29,087			7	
Maryland	66,760	67,687	19			8
Massachusetts	133,472	59,260			13	
Michigan	138,455	78,355	2,861	1,271	11	
Minnesota	55,117	34,423			5	
Mississippi	82,175	47,288			8	
Missouri	119,196	151,434	2,439			15
Nebraska	18,329	7,812			3	
Nevada	8,413	6,236			3	
New Hampshire	37,168	31,424	100	200	5	
New Jersey	91,656	76,456	630		9	
New York	440,736	387,281	1,454	201	35	
North Carolina	94,769	70,094			10	
Ohio	281,852	244,321	1,163	2,100	22	
Oregon	11,819	7,730	572		3	
Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041		1,630	29	
Rhode Island	13,665	5,329			4	
South Carolina	72,290	22,703	187		7	
Tennessee	85,655	94,391				12
Texas	47,468	66,546	2,580			8
Vermont	41,481	10,927	593		5	
Virginia	93,468	91,654	42		11	
West Virginia	32,315	29,451	600		5	
Wisconsin	104,997	86,477	834		10	
Total accepted	3,597,132	2,834,125	29,489	5,608	286	66

¹ "Custom-house" count.² Count by the Warmoth returning board.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GRANT—PANIC OF 1873— FINANCIAL MEASURES—JAMES G. BLAINE.

IT will be seen that Mr. Greeley received only about one hundred and thirty thousand votes more than did Horatio Seymour four years before, while Grant increased his vote nearly six hundred thousand over the previous election. Missouri cast a large vote for Greeley and was the only State which gave him any considerable comparative vote, New York, Delaware, and Oregon, all of which voted for Seymour in 1868, now casting their vote for Grant in 1872, while the vote of Tennessee was the only one to change from the Republican to the Democratic column. It is difficult to see, then, just what the Liberal movement accomplished, except the death of Mr. Greeley, which occurred about a month after the election. However, it was the beginning of so-called independent politics, which has continued in different forms and for different reasons and with different motives to the present day. Many of the so-called leaders returned to the Republican party in 1876, even to the accepting of office from a Cabinet position down.

The House of Representatives elected at the same time with Grant and Wilson was composed of 198 Republicans to 93 Democrats and Liberals, while the Senate contained 50 Republicans against 24 Democrats and Liberals. The preceding Congress, which had chosen James G. Blaine of Maine for its Speaker, had been occupied mostly with attempted legislation regarding the situation in the South and the outrages daily occurring there. It was felt, on the one hand, that the time had come when the Southern States should be allowed to

govern themselves, and for the most part this was being done. At the same time the Republican party felt that the negro, in accordance with the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, should be protected not only in his right to vote, but to live, and maintained that the Government should use force, if necessary, to restore and maintain order. During the debate Mr. Sawyer of South Carolina said:

I am not prepared to deny that maladministration has occurred in many of the Southern States. I know such to have been the fact. I do not think it would have been less likely to occur if the government had been in Democratic hands. On the contrary, other things being equal, I think quite the reverse would have been the case.

The problem was indeed a difficult one, and in spite of the criticisms aimed against President Grant and the Republican party, it is the generally accepted opinion, thirty years later, that they not only did the best they could, but did their work well and with the purest of motives. When it is considered that the so-called race question is not settled forty years after the close of the war, it is not to be wondered at that a Republican President and a Republican Congress were not able satisfactorily to solve the problem so soon after the end of hostilities.

The matter of reform in the civil service was now occupying the minds of a large number of prominent statesmen, both in and out of Congress. Under the provisions of an act of March 3, 1871, the President appointed a Board of Civil Service Commissioners to provide for the examination of applicants for minor offices, and to relieve him and his Cabinet from the necessity of deciding upon such applications. This system continued in operation for nearly three years, beginning January 1, 1872, and though it was carried on with many limitations and discouragements, yet it received the commendation of the President and his Cabinet; but in December, 1874, in spite of President Grant's appeals, Congress refused to make any further appropriations for the system, and it was discontinued. One of the pretended objections to the re-election of Grant

made by the Liberals was because of the very appointments to office by the President, and the desire for the civil service reform, which Grant himself so heartily advocated during his second term.

On the first day of the second session of the Forty-second Congress the Speaker of the House, Mr. Blaine, called attention to the charge made by the Democrats during the campaign, to the effect that the Vice-President, the Vice-President elect, the Secretary of the Treasury, several Senators, the Speaker of the House, and a large number of Representatives had been bribed, during the years 1867 and 1868, by gifts of stock in a corporation known as the "Credit Mobilier," for the purpose of influencing their vote and action for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. An investigating committee was appointed, having for its chairman Luke P. Poland of Vermont. This committee reported February 18, 1873, recommending the expulsion of Oakes Ames of Massachusetts for "selling to members of Congress shares of the stock of the Credit Mobilier below their real value, with intent thereby to influence the votes of such members," and of James Brooks of New York for receiving such stock. The House finally exchanged the expulsion into an "absolute condemnation" of the conduct of both members. At this session the President's salary was increased from \$25,000 to \$50,000, and the salaries of Senators and Representatives from \$5000 to \$7000. Although Congress followed a precedent in making the law retroactive for nearly two years of a term then expiring, yet it received the condemnation it deserved, and that part increasing the salaries of Senators and Representatives was finally repealed.

President Grant in his second inaugural stated, that although he still believed in the advisability of the annexation of Santo Domingo he had dropped the matter since its rejection by the Senate. On this point the President said:

In the future, while I hold my present office, the subject of acquisition of territory must have the support of the people before I will recommend any proposition looking to such acquisition.

I say here, however, that I do not share in the apprehension held by many, as to the danger of governments becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of their extension of territory. Commerce, education, and rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam, have changed all this.

Rather do I believe that our great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required.

The only change made in the Cabinet was the appointment of William M. Richardson as Secretary of the Treasury to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of George S. Boutwell. Chief Justice Chase of the Supreme Court died during the year, and Morrison R. Waite of Ohio was appointed and confirmed as his successor.

Up to the year 1873, since the close of the war, the country had seemed to prosper amazingly. Particularly in railroad building and other construction was there great activity,—in fact, as the result showed, there was overproduction in almost every line of industry; but the finances of the country were not yet in good condition. No law had yet been passed providing for payment in specie, although in 1869 a bill had been passed in which the United States “solemnly pledged itself to make provision at the earliest practical period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.” The wild speculation which had been indulged in, together with the financial instability of the country, are put down as the chief causes for the great commercial panic of 1873. No doubt they contributed much to the business upheaval, and yet there were other causes which had a large influence upon the commercial disasters of that year. On August 1, 1872, a new tariff law went into effect, making a general reduction of about ten per cent. and largely increasing the free list. Our excess of imports for several years had been as follows:

1863	\$ 39,371,368
1864	157,609,295
1865	72,716,277

1866	85,952,544
1867	101,254,955
1868	75,483,541
1869	131,388,682
1870	43,186,640
1871	77,403,506
1872	182,417,491
1873	119,656,288

Here was an adverse balance of trade in eleven years amounting to considerably over a thousand million dollars, during which time nearly five hundred million dollars in gold had been sent abroad in excess of that received. The minor reductions in the tariff of 1870 and the ten-per-cent. reduction of 1872 were made at a most untimely period, and no doubt contributed largely toward the unrest in financial circles and the panic which followed in 1873. Says George B. Curtiss in his *Protection and Prosperity* on this subject:

Free Traders love to dwell on this panic as having occurred under a protective Tariff—all other panics and periods of financial prostrations having been accompaniments of Free Trade. But it is not difficult to analyze and account for the disastrous times of 1873 and the six years following. First we find a general reduction of duties before we had fully recovered from the war. We had not yet restored the number of producers lost nor the vast property destroyed. When the national debt was funded there was \$150,000,000 needed for annual interest, a great proportion of it going to Europe in exports of gold or its equivalent. Pensions, too, took a large part of the nation's income, over \$200,000,000 having been disbursed from 1866 to 1873, inclusive. Two hundred million dollars more were diverted from the ordinary channels of business by the rebuilding after the great Chicago and Boston fires of 1871 and 1872. But these were not the only burdens the people had to bear at this time. Being on a paper money basis all gold payments added a heavy premium. The panic had been averted for over eight years and when it did come it did not bring general disaster so much as individual loss and sacrifice. "And strongest of all points [quoting Mr. Blaine in his answer to Gladstone], the financial

distress was relieved and prosperity restored under Protection, whereas the ruinous effects of panics under Free Trade have never been removed except by a resort to Protection." We had been living during and after the war under inflated valuations. When prices began to fall toward a normal basis, it brought about a readjustment of every department of production, and every kind of business. One of President Grant's first messages to Congress recommended a speedy return to specie payments. This was the first step toward bringing the country down from the inflated condition that existed.

On February 12, 1873, the coinage laws were revised with the result that the coinage of the silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver, or $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, was dropped or omitted from the coins thereafter to be struck at the United States mint. A specific provision was inserted as follows:

Section 14. That of the gold coins of the United States there shall be a one dollar piece which at the standard weight of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains shall be a unit of value.

The wisdom of this legislation was apparent as we approached the time when it was decided to fix a date for the resumption of specie payment. Before the demonetization of silver in 1873 the silver dollar was worth more than the gold dollar, but for some time it had been declining in value and at a rate of depreciation which would soon fall below the price of gold; and the attempt to resume specie payment in 1879, which was the date now being generally fixed upon, would result in our passing to a silver basis instead of a gold basis, unless the demonetization of the silver dollar should be accomplished.

The act of 1873 was a declaration to the world that when resumption took place our greenbacks and all of the paper currency issued by the Government would be redeemable in gold, as well as the bonds, both principal and interest, which would also be paid in gold. The financial legislation of this year at once placed the credit of the United States on a higher plane, and enabled the Government to refund its bonded indebtedness at a much lower rate of interest. The commercial

panic at the close of the year was in no way connected with the financial legislation of the Government, and its severest results were soon terminated, although it took the upbuilding of several years to restore the country to its normal prosperity.

The first session of the Forty-third Congress commenced December 1, 1873, Henry Wilson of Massachusetts presiding over the Senate, and James G. Blaine being re-elected Speaker of the House. The session was unimportant.

During the year 1874 changes were made in the President's Cabinet as follows: The resignation of Mr. Richardson as Secretary of the Treasury was accepted and the vacancy filled by the appointment of Benjamin H. Bristow on June 4th; on June 24th the Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, resigned, and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Marshall Jewell of Connecticut; on April 22, 1875, George H. Williams, the Attorney-General, tendered his resignation, and Edwards Pierrepont was appointed his successor; on July 5th Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, resigned, and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan was appointed his successor, and Francis E. Spinner, who had been Treasurer of the United States since 1861, resigned in March, 1875, the office being filled by the appointment of John C. New of Indiana. On November 22, 1875, Henry Wilson, the Vice-President, died at Washington from a stroke of paralysis, and Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan was chosen president of the Senate *pro tempore*, becoming acting Vice-President.

The name of the President was now being frequently mentioned for a third term. From a letter written by Mr. Grant to General Henry White, president of the Pennsylvania Republican Convention, it was evident that a third term would not be refused, although it would not be diligently sought. At the same time the President was charged with seeking a third term, and the friends of other candidates, particularly those of Mr. Blaine, began active work for the nomination of the following year.

Under date of January 14, 1875, the bill for the resumption of specie payments became a law, to take effect January 1, 1879. The text of the act is given as follows:

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined, at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations, or at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the sub-treasuries, public depositaries, and post-offices of the United States; and, upon such issue, he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency, until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

Sec. 2. That so much of section three thousand five hundred and twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one fifth of one per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed; and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

Sec. 3. That section five thousand one hundred and seventy-seven of the Revised Statutes, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be, and is hereby, repealed; and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and the provisions of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national bank currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed. And whenever, and so often, as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of three millions of dollars, to the amount of eighty per centum of the sum of national-bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of three hundred million dollars of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the first day of January, anno

Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues from time to time in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par in coin, either of the descriptions of bonds of the United States described in act of Congress approved July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purpose aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

A vast conspiracy to defraud the Government was unearthed in May, 1875. For two years a Whiskey Ring, including distillers, dealers, United States collectors, gaugers, and many other persons, extending in their operations from St. Louis to Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and New Orleans, with an agent at Washington, was continually defrauding the Government by secret shipments of whiskey which was reported as stored. Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, after months of investigation, finally unearthed the gigantic fraud. So wide was the influence of the Ring in the highest places, that for a little time all efforts to dethrone it were thwarted; but in 1875 property aggregating several millions of dollars was seized, and two hundred and thirty-eight persons were indicted. President Grant, as he endorsed one of the papers in the cases, added, "Let no guilty man escape." Even the President's secretary, O. E. Babcock, was implicated, but acquitted. Although many obstacles were constantly thrown in Secretary Bristow's way, a number of convictions were obtained, among others that of the chief clerk of the Treasury, Avery. In 1876 Secretary Bristow, who had turned his attention to a so-called Whiskey Ring in California, was

asked by the Senator from that State to remove several special Treasury agents, and the Secretary refused, whereupon the President was appealed to. He decided against Bristow, who at once resigned. Lot M. Morrill of Maine was appointed as his successor.

The Forty-fourth Congress convened at Washington on December 6, 1875. The congressional elections of 1874 had been disastrous to the Republicans, and for the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War the House of Representatives held a majority of Democrats, there being 182 Democrats against 110 Republicans. Michael C. Kerr of Indiana was elected Speaker. A large amount of attempted legislation failed to pass both Houses, and the session was almost entirely fruitless. The Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, was impeached by the House on the charge of having received bribes for the appointment of a post trader at Fort Sill. As the vote in the Senate (36 to 25 for conviction) was not a two-thirds vote, he was acquitted. He had, however, anticipated his impeachment by resigning, and many of the Senators who voted "not guilty" stated that they did so on the ground that he was a private citizen and not then subject to impeachment. He was succeeded by Alphonso Taft of Ohio.

Strong and persistent attempts were made in the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses to modify or change the electoral system and to regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice-President. Senator Oliver P. Morton was the leader in this movement and was strongly supported by Senators Conkling, Anthony, and Thurman, who agreed that some change was absolutely necessary. In spite of Mr. Morton's earnestness in regard to the matter, and the support which he had from both Republican and Democratic colleagues, no new legislation on the matter was enacted, and the election of 1876 came and with it the crisis of which Senator Morton seems to have had premonition.

If General Grant took the third-term matter seriously, it was given a severe blow in Congress in December, 1875, when the following resolution was passed by the large majority of 234 to 18:

That, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal occurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

The affirmative vote included all the Democrats present and seventy-seven out of the eighty-eight Republicans. Grant's name as a candidate was no longer mentioned, and the discussion turned to others. It was soon evident that the man who would lead all others in the Republican Convention would be James G. Blaine of Maine, the ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives. He at once became the subject of attacks, not only from those outside of his party, but many within. As Speaker of the House, Mr. Blaine had given a decision which hastened the passage of the bill authorizing the State of Arkansas to aid in the construction of the Fort Smith Railroad. He was then charged with using his office to obtain securities upon favorable terms.

A resolution of the House of Representatives, supposed to be aimed at Mr. Blaine, authorized the investigation of an alleged sale of certain Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad bonds to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. During the investigation it transpired that there had been a considerable correspondence between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Warren Fisher of Boston, and that an important collection of these letters was in the hands of a clerk by the name of Mulligan. This person was summoned before the committee, but on reaching Washington gave the letters to Mr. Blaine. Thereupon the committee called upon Mr. Blaine to produce the letters, and in reply, acting upon the opinion of two prominent lawyers, one a Democrat and one a Republican, he asserted that the letters were personal property and could not be made public. But this only tended further to arouse his opponents, and upon their continued demand that the letters be produced, Mr. Blaine, rising in his place in the House of Representatives, after denying their right to demand the correspondence, added: "Thank Almighty God, I am not ashamed to show

them. There they are. There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk." He then read the letters, which had been carefully picked from a correspondence extending over fifteen years. Not one of the letters was of an incriminating character, and with much feeling Mr. Blaine exclaimed, as he concluded their reading: "The man did his worst, the very worst, he could out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you—and I ask it with some feeling—can stand a severer scrutiny of, or a more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence?" Then turning to Mr. Knott, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the following dialogue ensued:

"Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a despatch from Caldwell?" [Mr. Caldwell, who was abroad, was the only person who had perfect knowledge of the matter, and both parties had been seeking his address.]

"I will explain that directly," said Mr. Knott.

"I want a categorical answer."

"I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell."

"You did?"

"How did you know I got it?" queried Mr. Knott.

"When did you get it?" was the response. "I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it."

"Answer my question first."

"I never heard of it until yesterday."

"How did you hear it?"

"I heard you got a despatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge. You have suppressed it!"

In vain did Mr. Blaine insist that the despatch be produced and filed with the rest of the papers, but the final result was his practical acquittal on all the charges. They were, however, brought out afresh during the campaign of 1884, and will be again considered in connection with the record of that canvass.

CHAPTER III.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1876—THE DISPUTED ELECTION—ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND ELECTION OF HAYES.

THE Republican party in 1876 was justly or unjustly carrying a large burden,—it might be said many large burdens.

First, there were the hard times, not yet disappeared, following the panic of 1873, for which the party was held responsible; then there were the Credit Mobilier scandal and the frauds of the Whiskey Ring, and the acts of General Belknap ("more sinned against than sinning, as the true history of the affair shows"),¹ and, withal, the honest and persistent attempts of the Republican party to protect life and liberty in the South were becoming hailed as the "waving of the bloody shirt."

During the early part of the year the following circular was issued and sent to many prominent members of the Republican party:

NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

DEAR SIR: The wide-spread corruption in our public service, which has disgraced the republic in the eyes of the world, and threatens to poison the vitality of our institutions; the uncertainty of the public mind, and of party counsels, as to grave economical questions involving in a great measure the honor of the Government, the morality of our business life, and the general well-being of the people; and the danger that an inordinate party spirit may, through the organized action of a comparatively small number of men who live by politics, succeed in overriding the most patriotic impulses

¹ Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*.

of the people, and in monopolizing political power for selfish ends, seem to render it most desirable that no effort should be spared to secure to the popular desire for genuine reform a decisive influence in the impending national election.

Mindful of the fact that this patriotic desire is honestly struggling for effective expression inside of existing political organizations, as it is also strong outside of them, and believing that by all proper means it should be encouraged and made to prevail, the undersigned invite you to meet them, and others of like purpose who have been invited in the same manner, in a free conference, to consider what may be done to prevent the national election of the centennial year from becoming a mere choice of evils, and to secure the election of men to the highest offices of the republic whose character and ability will satisfy the exigencies of our present situation, and protect the honor of the American name.

The conference will be held in the city of New York on the 15th of May. You are respectfully and urgently requested to be present, and to communicate your acceptance of this invitation to H. C. Lodge, Esq., P. O. box 1,938, New York City, or 31 Beacon Street, Boston.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, New York.

THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, Connecticut.

ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, Massachusetts.

HORACE WHITE, Illinois.

CARL SCHURZ, Missouri.

The conference thus called assembled at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York, on May 15th. Persons were present, and united in the proceedings, from Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, West Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, and Minnesota. An organization was effected by the choice of the following officers:

President: Theodore D. Woolsey of Connecticut.

Vice-Presidents: New Hampshire, George G. Fogg; Vermont, Charles W. W. Clark; Massachusetts, Henry L. Pierce, Martin Brimmer, Julius H. Seelye, Mark Hopkins, James

Freeman Clarke; Rhode Island, Rowland Hazard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson; New York, William Cullen Bryant, John Jay, Oswald Ottendorfer, Edward Salomon, Bradford R. Wood, Cyrus W. Field, Charles Butler, Samuel Osgood; Pennsylvania, Thomas Balch, Henry C. Lee, William Welsh; Ohio, ex-Lieutenant-Governor Muller, J. D. Cox; Indiana, Colonel Martin; Illinois, John H. Bryant, Robert Collyer; Wisconsin, Frederick W. Horn, M. M. Davis; Missouri, John McNeil, James S. Rollins.

Secretaries: H. C. Lodge of Massachusetts, Francis A. Walker of Connecticut, Henry Armitt Brown of Pennsylvania, August Thierne of Ohio, Enos Clarke of Missouri.

A Committee on Business was appointed, consisting of Carl Schurz, Parke Godwin, Lafayette S. Foster, John W. Hoyt, and Martin Brimmer. On the next day the committee reported an Address to the American People, of which the following is an extract:

We therefore declare, and call upon all good citizens to join us, that at the coming presidential election we shall support no candidate who in public position ever countenanced corrupt practices or combinations, or impeded their exposure and punishment, or opposed necessary measures of reform.

We shall support no candidate who, while possessing official influence and power, has failed to use his opportunities in exposing and correcting abuses coming within the reach of his observation, but for personal reasons and party ends has permitted them to fester on; for such men may be counted on not to uncover and crush corruption, but for the party's sake ready to conceal it.

We shall support no candidate, however conspicuous his position or brilliant his ability, in whom the impulses of the party manager have shown themselves predominant over those of the reformer; for he will be inclined to continue that fundamental abuse—the employment of the Government service as a machinery for personal or party ends.

We shall support no candidate who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires; for the American people cannot now afford to risk the

future of the republic in experiments on merely supposed virtue or rumored ability, to be trusted on the strength of private recommendations.

In one word, at present no candidate should be held entitled to the support of patriotic citizens, of whom the questions may fairly be asked, "Is he really the man to carry through a thorough-going reform of the Government? Can he with certainty be depended upon to possess the moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with abuses which have acquired the strength of established custom, and to this end firmly to resist the pressure even of his party friends?" Whenever there is room for such questions, and doubt as to the answer, the candidate should be considered unfit for this emergency.

On May 17th the so-called Prohibition Reform party assembled at Cleveland, Ohio. Resolutions were adopted, and General Green Clay Smith of Kentucky was nominated for President of the United States, and G. T. Stewart of Ohio for Vice-President. On the same day at Indianapolis, Indiana, the National Greenback Convention assembled. Resolutions were adopted, and Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President of the United States, and Newton Booth of California for Vice-President. Mr. Booth subsequently declined, and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio became the candidate.

The Democratic National Convention was held at St. Louis, Missouri, on June 28th. Mr. Henry Watterson of Kentucky was the temporary chairman, and General John A. McClernand of Illinois was chosen permanent president. A very wordy platform was reported by Mr. Dorsheimer of New York, full of denunciation of the Republican party and its acts, and many repetitions of the word "reform" in its promises if given power. Among other denunciations was the following plank:

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparations for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance, we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

An attempt was made in the convention to change the phraseology of this plank, but it was defeated by a vote of 550 to 219. The convention then nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President of the United States, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

The call for the Republican National Convention of 1876 was as follows:

The next Union Republican National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock noon, and will consist of delegates from each state equal to twice the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and of two delegates from each organized territory and the district of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several states are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the government by honest, faithful, and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of national unity in this centennial anniversary of the birth of the republic.

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman*,
WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary*, } Republican National Com.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876.

The Cincinnati Convention assembled June 14, 1876, in pursuance of the above call.

Governor Morgan, in addressing the convention, after calling attention to the preceding conventions of the party, said:

The last three national conventions of our party have had indicated to them, in advance, the names of the candidates for the national ticket, so that they have been but little else than ratification meetings of decrees that had been made by the people, merely putting in form that which had already been decided upon. I allude to President Lincoln's second nomination, and to the nomination and renomination of the splendid soldier and patriot, General Grant. But such a state of things no longer exists. There appears to be at the present time no one to whom the unerring finger points as the only candidate. There seems to be no man rising so far above all others as to cause exultant voices to exclaim,—“Thou art the man!”

The consequence is, that many distinguished names among our party friends have been mentioned as candidates, and will be brought before the convention when the proper time arrives for making nominations. Therefore it is that I have expressed myself as seeing greater responsibilities resting upon the delegates to this Cincinnati convention than upon any or all that have preceded it.

Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York was chosen as temporary chairman of the convention, and Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin and General H. H. Bingham of Pennsylvania temporary secretaries. Mr. George William Curtis of New York then asked to read an address of the Republican Reform Club of the city of New York, and the matter being put to the convention and it being decided in the affirmative Mr. Curtis ascended the platform and read the following:

To the Republican National Convention of 1876:

The Republican Reform Club of the city of New York pray you to consider our respectful declaration of what we deem necessary to make the Republican party deserve and obtain success in this state, which is conceded to be the principal battle-ground of the canvass, and in which the apparent strength of the Democratic and Republican parties is nearly equal.

We believe that the people wish to keep the Republican party in power only upon condition that a new Federal administration shall fulfill the promises which were given by the Republican National Convention of 1872. Without pausing to argue whether they do demand something more, certainly they will insist upon nothing less. One of those promises committed the Republican party to a speedy resumption of specie payments, and another committed it to thorough reform of the civil service. But the only measure that has been enacted toward fulfilling the first promise is a statute which pledges the honor of the nation to redeem its paper currency with specie on the 1st of January, 1879; and the second promise, after some beneficent experiments, has been openly, wilfully, and totally broken by Congress and the President.

The long delay to resume specie payments keeps the business of the country depressed. Confidence is essential to prosperity. There cannot be confidence without a stable measure of value, and the only stable measure is gold. The neglect to reform the civil service exposes the people to a greater peril, for it encourages office-holders to conspire to keep their places without regard to their fitness for them. We leave the Republicans of other states, who are suffering from this grievance, to tell you their own story. Speaking for the state of New York, we testify to you of our own knowledge and experience, that Federal office-holders have here usurped the organization of the Republican party, and abuse it to exclude large classes of its members from any voice in its councils; that they treat the tenure of their offices as depending on the caprice of the Republican senator from this state, because he is the patron who dictated their appointment, and not on the will of the President or the people; and that they have banded themselves into an odious and intolerable oligarchy which menaces the very system of our government.

We believe that a great majority of the people deeply and justly distrust the motives which animate the Democratic party and the influences which guide it; that they are not reasonably hopeful of reform at its hands; and that they always will be reluctant to confide the Federal government to any party which is controlled by men who assailed the Union themselves, or sympathized with its assailants. Nor is this distrust inconsistent with fraternal feeling to our fellow-citizens who were recently in rebellion. But it is neither honest nor prudent to speculate upon imputations of disloyalty for

a Republican success. If you neglect to prove by your resolutions and your nominations that the flagrant decay of official faith and integrity, which has occurred during the present Federal administration, is not the fault of the Republican party itself, but of unfaithful servants, whom you now, upon the first opportunity since 1872, are eager to depose, it is our solemn conviction that your proceedings will impel the people to put the Democratic party into power, for the sake of a change of the administrators of evil, since they cannot obtain from you a remedy of the evil itself.

Under this conviction, we earnestly attest to you our belief that a triumph of the Republican party in the approaching elections can be obtained only by your nomination of presidential candidates whose lives afford a more trustworthy pledge than the resolutions of any convention that they will spare no effort to fulfill the promises of the Republican party to resume specie payments speedily, and to emancipate the civil service from political control. We declare the desires of greater multitudes than our immediate constituency, when we demand all the assurances which you can give by your resolutions, and still more by your nominations.

1. That the sacred pledge of the honor of the United States to redeem and pay its legal-tender promises on the 1st of January, 1879, shall be followed by all the legislation needful to fulfill it, and never shall be repealed or modified without the substitution of an earlier and better method of specie resumption.

2. That all the powers of appointment to office, which are intrusted to the Executive by the constitution and the laws, shall be faithfully executed; that fixed methods shall be established for the selection of persons for appointment which shall protect merit against mere influence and favoritism; that the legislature never shall encroach upon the executive in this department of authority, and especially that executive and executive powers shall not be confused by the delegation of the power of appointment by the President, or any other executive officer, to members of congress in order to conciliate their support or promote their ambition.

3. That the tenure of all the offices of the Federal government, whose faithful execution does not depend upon the political opinions of their holders, shall be independent of those opinions; and that honesty, capacity, and fidelity shall become the conditions of obtaining and retaining every Federal office.

Solemnly convinced that a Republican reform, and nothing but a

Republican reform, can secure that Republican victory for which we pray, and to which we are anxious to give our heartiest aid, we beseech you to give us presidential candidates who can secure it, and to put no man in nomination who is responsible in any degree for the repudiation or evasion of the unfulfilled promises of the Republican National Convention of 1872, which it is the highest duty of the Republican party to renew and redeem.

Speeches were then made by Governor John A. Logan of Illinois, ex-Governor Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, ex-Governor Edward F. Noyes of Ohio, the Rev. Henry Highland Garnett of New York, William A. Howard of Michigan, and Frederick Douglass. Among other things Mr. Douglass said :

You say you have emancipated us. You have; and I thank you for it. You say you have enfranchised us. You have; and I thank you for it. But what is your emancipation?—what is your enfranchisement? What does it all amount to, if the black man, after having been made free by the letter of your law, is unable to exercise that freedom, and, after having been freed from the slaveholder's lash, he is subject to the slaveholder's shot-gun? Oh! you freed us! You emancipated us! I thank you for it. But under what circumstances did you emancipate us? Under what circumstances have we obtained our freedom? Sir, ours is the most extraordinary case of any people ever emancipated on the globe. I sometimes wonder that we still exist as a people in this country; that we have not all been swept out of existence, with nothing left to show that we ever existed. Look at it. When the Israelites were emancipated, they were told to go and borrow of their neighbors,—borrow their coin, borrow their jewels, load themselves down with the means of subsistence; after, they should go free in the land of which the Lord God gave them. When the Russian serfs had their chains broken and were given liberty, the government of Russia—aye, the despotic government of Russia—gave to those poor emancipated serfs a few acres of land on which they could live and earn their bread. But when you turned us loose, you gave us no acres; you turned us loose to the sky, to the storm, to the whirlwind, and, worst of all, you turned us loose to the wrath of our infuriated masters.

The question now is, Do you mean to make good to us the promises in your constitution? Talk not to me of finance. Talk not of mere reform in your administration. I believe there is honesty in the American people; honesty in the men whom you will elect; wisdom in the men to manage those affairs,—but tell me, if your heart be as my heart, that the liberty which you have asserted for the black man in this country shall be maintained? You say, some of you, that you can get along without the vote of the black man of the South. Yes, that may be, possibly; but I doubt it. At any rate, in order to insure our protection hereafter, we feel the need, in the candidate whom you will place before the country, of the assurance that, if it be necessary, the black man shall walk to the ballot-box in safety, even if we have to bring a bayonet behind us. And I have this feeling, that, if we bring forth either of the gentlemen named here, the Government of the United States and the moral feeling of the country will surround the black voter as by a wall of fire; and, instead of electing your President without the black vote, you may count in the number of your victorious Republican states five or six, at least, of the old master states of the South.

Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania was then chosen as permanent president of the convention, and Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin permanent secretary. Mr. McPherson said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: None of you know better than myself how entirely unworthy I am of this high distinction. It has come to me not only unsought, but with a feeling of absolute and uncontrollable surprise. But I have been reared in a school of duty; and in the politics of Pennsylvania it is a fundamental doctrine, that every Republican shall do his whole duty; and therefore, I am here to accept the honor tendered by your committee and ratified by yourselves, as an honor tendered to the great commonwealth which has sent me as one of its delegates to this convention, which, since 1856, in no one of the great contests has ever faltered, and which, in this centennial of the nation, determined, inflexible, defiant, turning its face to the enemy striped all over with treason and malignity and hate at everything that is national, has determined to roll up for the nominees of this convention such a vote as will entitle her to continue to be what she has been—and I say it

with all respect—foremost in the Republican column. The chair is ready for business.

After listening to the remarks of Mrs. Sarah Jane Spencer upon the question of "Woman's Suffrage," and a considerable debate upon the matter of credentials, the following platform was presented by General Joseph R. Hawley, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, which was adopted as reported.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1876.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied by the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the

legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision, at the earliest practicable period, for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives, who may be judges and accusers, should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public-school system of the several States is a bulwark of the American Republic, and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public land to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effects of immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with its approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were re-

cently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

This last plank was added after nominations were made.

When the president announced that the nomination for candidates for the office of President of the United States was in order, Marshall Jewell of Connecticut was nominated by Mr. Stephen W. Kellogg of that State; Oliver P. Morton of Indiana was nominated by Mr. Richard W. Thompson of that State, and seconded by Mr. P. B. S. Pinchback of Louisiana; Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky was nominated by Mr. John M. Harland of that State, and seconded by Mr. Luke P. Poland of Vermont, George William Curtis of New York, and

Richard H. Dana of Massachusetts. James G. Blaine of Maine was then nominated by Robert G. Ingersoll of Illinois. It was in this speech that Mr. Ingersoll used the "plumed-knight" expression, which clung to Mr. Blaine until the end of his career. Said Mr. Ingersoll:

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and malinger of his fair reputation. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention: In the name of the great republic, the only republic that ever existed upon the face of the earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of her soldiers that died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers,—Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

Mr. Blaine's nomination was seconded by Mr. Henry M. Tufner, a colored delegate from Georgia, and William P. Frye of Maine. Roscoe Conkling of New York was then nominated by Stewart L. Woodford of the same State, after which Ruth-erford B. Hayes of Ohio was nominated by Edward F. Noyes of that State and seconded by Benjamin F. Wade of the same State, Mr. St. Gem of Missouri, and J. W. Davis of West Virginia. John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania was then nominated by Mr. Lynde Bartholomew of the same State. The nominations concluded the proceedings of the second day.

On the third day the balloting for a candidate for President was proceeded with, the various ballots resulting as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th
Blaine.....	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
Morton.....	125	120	113	108	95	85	
Bristow.....	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
Conkling.....	99	93	90	84	82	81	
Hayes.....	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
Hartranft.....	58	63	68	71	69	50	
Jewell.....	11						
Scattering.....	3	4	3	5	5	5	
Whole number.....	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary.....	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

The nomination of Mr. Hayes was made unanimous. During the progress of the balloting four Pennsylvania delegates demanded that their votes be separately recorded. These delegates claimed the right to vote as individuals, although the delegates had been instructed to vote as a unit. Mr. McPherson, the president of the convention, sustained the demand of the four Pennsylvania delegates and on an appeal being taken his decision was upheld, 395 to 354. The famous unit-rule was therefore broken, which action, as will be noted in the record of the proceedings at Chicago in 1880, was repeated, and the unit-rule has since been abandoned in Republican conventions. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated by acclamation for Vice-President, after the ballot had proceeded showing Mr. Wheeler largely in lead of the other delegates voted for, who were as follows: Stewart L. Woodford of New York, Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, and Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut. After adding the last resolution to the platform and appointing a national committee and a committee to wait upon the candidates to give them formal notice of their nominations the convention adjourned. Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and R. C. McCormick of Arizona, were elected, respectively, chairman and secretary of the national committee and also of the executive committee.

For the first time in a national campaign the Republicans in

1876 were obliged to assume the defensive. Explanations were necessary, and with a candidate who, though an able and clean man in the extreme, was little known, it was necessary throughout the canvass to meet the attacks of their opponents, but the canvass as a whole was devoid of personality. Mr. Tilden was attacked slightly because of his connection with railroad enterprises, and a suit was brought against him to recover an income tax said to be due to the Government. The Democrats found it hard to explain their plank denouncing the resumption act, although Mr. Tilden was considered sound on financial questions.

Although Mr. Blaine's friends had been most keenly disappointed, they firmly supported the ticket, as did a large proportion of the Liberal Republicans who voted for Greeley four years previous. Neither side was very confident of success, and when the October elections indicated that several Northern States might be carried for Mr. Tilden, the Republicans were less confident of success, perhaps, than were the Democrats. The election, the result of which was to bring an important crisis in American history, passed over, for the most part, very quietly. In the newspapers of the following day both sides claimed the victory, although perhaps the election was in the main at first conceded to Mr. Tilden. Before the day was over, however, the Republicans confidently claimed the election of Hayes, and the preliminary newspaper struggle began, to be followed by the greater struggle to take place at Washington.

It was evident almost from the first that Mr. Hayes could be elected by only one majority in the Electoral College. To maintain this position and to defend their claim as honest and just, the Republican leaders now bent their whole energy. The result of the election soon hinged upon the returns from South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. From each of the three first-named States there were double returns. In Oregon one of the Republican electors had been adjudged ineligible by the Democratic Governor, who gave the certificate to the Democratic elector who obtained the largest vote. As the two Republican electors would not meet with this man he

appointed two Democratic electors to fill their vacancies, and the three voted for Tilden and Hendricks.

The excitement throughout the country was becoming more and more intense daily, and the doubt and uncertainty which enshrouded the outcome had a tendency to hurt business and make unrest in every circle. It is likely that the true history has never been and never will be fully known or written. For a quarter of a century the Republicans have maintained that their action throughout was honorable and right, while just as persistently have the Democrats maintained that they were robbed of the Presidency by the seating of Hayes instead of Tilden.

A complete history of the construction and operation of the so-called Electoral Commission would consume volumes, and the chief points must be given concisely and briefly. The question soon hinged upon the count of the electoral vote. Congress was divided politically, the Senate being Republican and having for its presiding officer a Republican, while the House of Representatives was Democratic. The Republicans claimed that the president of the Senate had the constitutional right to count the votes, while the Democrats maintained that the duty devolved upon both Houses. It was evident at once that some plan must be adopted before the votes were counted or there would be an irreconcilable conflict. For weeks the matter was debated and discussed, first one plan assuming shape and then being abandoned to be followed by another and still another. Gradually, however, there developed an understanding, which came to be acceptable to both sides, and the Electoral Commission law of 1877 was approved January 29th. It provided, first, for the joint meeting of the two Houses; the opening of the electoral votes; and the disposition first of those to which no objections should be made; with the proviso that no return made by the commission should be rejected except by concurrent vote of both Houses. Section 2 read as follows:

That if more than one return, or paper purporting to be a return, from a state shall have been received by the president of the senate,

purporting to be the certificates of electoral votes given at the last preceding election for president and vice-president in such state (unless they shall be duplicates of the same return), all such returns and papers shall be opened by him in the presence of the two houses, when met as aforesaid, and read by the tellers, and all such returns and papers shall thereupon be submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such state, of a commission constituted as follows, namely: During the session of each house on the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, 1877, each house shall, by *viva voce* vote, appoint five of its members, who with the five associate justices of the supreme court of the United States, to be ascertained as hereinafter provided, shall constitute a commission for the decision of all questions upon or in respect of such double returns named in this section.

The law then specified, without naming the four justices, those assigned to the 1st, 3d, 8th, and 9th circuits, and directed them to select the 5th justice to complete the commission. The commission was to decide by a majority vote, and its decision could not be reversed except by a concurrent vote of both Houses. When the commission met on January 21, 1877, it was constituted as follows, the names of Democrats being in italics:

Justices: *Nathan Clifford*, 1st circuit, president; William Strong, 3d circuit; Samuel F. Miller, 8th circuit; *Stephen J. Field*, 9th circuit; Joseph P. Bradley, 5th circuit. Senators: George F. Edmunds, Vermont; Oliver P. Morton, Indiana; Fred. T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey; *Thos. F. Bayard*, Delaware; *Allen G. Thurman*, Ohio. Representatives: *Henry B. Payne*, Ohio; *Eppa Hunton*, Virginia; *Josiah G. Abbott*, Massachusetts; Jas. A. Garfield, Ohio; Geo. F. Hoar, Massachusetts. *Francis Kernan*, New York, was substituted, February 26th, for Senator Thurman, who had become ill.

It should be noted here that the vote in both Houses establishing the Electoral Commission was as follows: In the House 191 voted in favor of it, of whom 158 were Democrats and 33 Republicans; 86 members voted against it, of whom 68 were Republicans and 18 Democrats. In the Senate 47 voted for

the bill, 26 Democrats and 21 Republicans; 17 voted against it, 16 Republicans and 1 Democrat. It could then safely be called a Democratic measure, having received a Democratic majority of votes in both Houses, while every vote but one against it in the Senate was Republican, and in the House 68 of the 86 votes recorded against it were Republican. The commission as politically constituted consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats.

It had been expected by the Democrats, when the law was framed and carried through, that David Davis of Illinois would be the fifth justice chosen, which would make the commission practically Democratic instead of Republican. The count began on February 1, 1877, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, Thomas W. Ferry, being the presiding officer. The count proceeded in alphabetical order till the vote of Florida was called, when the certificates of both Hayes and Tilden electors were read. Objections were made to each and the matter was at once referred to the Electoral Commission, the joint convention taking a recess, and each House resuming legislative business.

It was not till the 7th of February that the commission was ready to give its decision on the electors of Florida by a vote of eight to seven. It had decided that it was not competent "to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the president of the Senate, to prove that other persons than those regularly certified to by the governor" were appointed. The joint convention of both Houses then convened on February 10th and received the decision, to which objection was made, and the Houses separated for its consideration, the Senate deciding that the vote should be counted, while the House voted that the electoral votes given by the Tilden electors should be counted. There being no agreement in rejecting the decision of the commission, it stood, and the joint session of the two Houses was again resumed.

Similar procedure took place when the vote of Louisiana was reached, and again with the Oregon and South Carolina votes. In the case of Oregon the commission were unanimous in rejecting the Tilden Board of Electors, but decided by a

vote of eight to seven that the Hayes electors were the legal electors for that State.

Two other objections were made besides those concerning the votes of the four States in dispute, one regarding an elector in Vermont, and the other regarding an elector in Wisconsin. The final vote upon Wisconsin was reached upon March 2d, only two days before the date for inaugurating the new President. As the count had gone on from day to day, every decision having been declared in favor of the Republicans, the Democrats gradually realized that their case was lost and confidence was restored throughout the country.

Many of our best men, particularly those occupying judicial positions, believe and maintain that Mr. Tilden was elected to the Presidency. It was proven before the Electoral Commission, that while a large number of Republican votes cast in the State of Louisiana were thrown out, a still larger number of Democratic votes, amounting to some 13,000, were also thrown out, so that an average majority of 7639 for the Tilden electors was changed to a majority for the Hayes electors. It must be remembered, however, that the commission as constituted, whether or not it was itself a legal body, could not go back of the result as given by the returning boards of the States. The question, then, reverts to the legality as well as honesty of the returning boards in throwing out votes which they considered improperly cast and not to be counted. The returning boards, however, were constituted with this very end in view, and were given the power to count or reject votes as they saw fit. Having this power and having exercised it, the Electoral Commission could not reverse the decisions as given by these returning boards. As to whether the Electoral Commission itself was a legal body the controversy will no doubt be endless, but Democrats particularly should not forget that it was a Democratic creation, and that it carried out a principle which has been very dear to Democratic hearts for three quarters of a century, namely, the doctrine of States' rights.

On the next page will be found the popular and electoral vote.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Samuel J. Tilden, New York	Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio	Peter Cooper, New York	Green Clay Smith, Kentucky	Hayes and Wheeler	Tilden and Hendricks
Alabama	102,989	68,708				10
Arkansas	58,071	38,669	289			6
California	76,468	78,322	44		6	
Colorado ¹					3	
Connecticut	61,934	59,034	774	378		6
Delaware	13,381	10,752				3
Florida ²	22,927	23,849			4	
Florida ³	24,434	24,340				
Georgia	130,088	50,446				11
Illinois	258,601	278,232	9,533		21	
Indiana	213,526	208,011	17,233	141		15
Iowa	112,121	171,326	9,901	36	11	
Kansas	37,902	78,322	7,776	110	5	
Kentucky	159,696	97,156	1,944	818		12
Louisiana ²	70,508	75,315			8	
Louisiana ³	83,723	77,174				
Maine	49,917	66,300	633		7	
Maryland	91,780	71,981	33	10		8
Massachusetts	108,777	150,063	779	84	13	
Michigan	141,095	166,534	9,060	766	11	
Minnesota	48,799	72,962	2,311	72	5	
Mississippi	112,173	52,605				8
Missouri	203,077	145,029	3,498	64		15
Nebraska	17,554	31,916	2,320	1,599	3	
Nevada	9,308	10,383			3	
New Hampshire	38,509	41,539	76		5	
New Jersey	115,962	103,517	712	43		9
New York	521,949	489,207	1,987	2,359		35
North Carolina	125,427	108,417				10
Ohio	323,182	330,698	3,057	1,636	22	
Oregon	14,149	15,206	510		3	
Pennsylvania	366,204	384,184	7,187	1,319	29	
Rhode Island	10,712	15,787	68	60	4	
South Carolina	90,896	91,870			7	
Tennessee	133,166	89,566				12
Texas	104,803	44,803				8
Vermont	20,350	44,428			5	
Virginia	139,670	95,558				11
West Virginia	56,495	42,046	1,373			5
Wisconsin	123,926	130,070	1,509	27	10	
Total Republican count	4,285,992	4,033,768	81,737	9,522	185	184
Total Democratic count	4,300,500	4,036,298	81,737	9,522		

¹ Electors appointed by legislature. ² Republican count. ³ Democratic count.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF HAYES—BLAND ACT—RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—CAMPAIGN OF 1880 AND ELECTION OF GARFIELD.

THE Democrats who had by their own party majority in Congress constituted the Electoral Commission were at first inclined to repudiate its judgment, and were disposed to cause further disquietude, if not conflict; but the level-headed leaders of the party finally submitted, and caused the rank and file to submit, to the judgment of the commission and the final count.

It was after four o'clock on the morning of the 2d of March, 1877, that Mr. Ferry declared Rutherford B. Hayes elected President and William A. Wheeler Vice-President of the United States. The student of American politics who would study carefully the entire proceedings leading to the Electoral Commission and its finding can do so by obtaining part 4, volume 5, of the *Congressional Record* for 1877, it having been published in a single volume. The partisan of the present generation should not carelessly talk of the "crime of 1876" until he is able to analyze and pass judgment on the proceedings of that tribunal.

The main principle involved in 1877, as supported by the Republicans of the commission, was that the "votes to be counted are those presented by the State, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authority of the State they must be counted."

Although the Democrats resisted this principle and the application of it in 1877, yet ten years later the Democratic members of Congress and a Democratic President were united

in the strict application of this principle to all future presidential counts.

Inconsistency has always been one of the most prominent traits of the Democratic party. It can reverse its own decision as often as necessity requires and repudiate its own principles with the utmost celerity and freedom.

Only the so-called Republican frauds in the returning boards of 1876 and 1877 are alluded to by the Democrats. There was no examination by the commission into the cipher correspondence from Gramercy Park, New York City, and the conspiracy which was alleged to have been entered into to secure the vote of a Republican elector, and it is fair to add that there was no occasion for such an examination. Of the two candidates it can be said that Mr. Hayes held entirely aloof from the controversy, while Mr. Tilden was implicated in several attempts to bring about a result in favor of himself. Mr. Tilden was perhaps the most astute politician in the Democratic party. He was without doubt its wisest man, and yet in spite of the so-called fraud of 1876 and 1877, and the desire for vindication, he received but thirty-eight votes on the first ballot and but one vote on the final ballot in the Democratic National Convention of 1880. This may be considered as an admission that there had been dishonorable machinations on the part of Mr. Tilden four years previously, and yet for a generation we have heard of the manner in which Mr. Tilden was cheated of the Presidency, and how well he bore the injustice meted out to him and his party.

It must be remembered that the tribunal which settled that election was in large part a Democratic creation, and that while so-called Republican frauds were carefully considered, yet the Democratic frauds and attempted frauds were not looked into.

President Hayes was inaugurated on March 5, 1877, saying, among other things, in his inaugural address:

Fellow-citizens, we have reached the close of a political contest marked by the excitement which usually attends the contests between great political parties, whose members espouse and advocate with earnest faith their respective creeds.

The circumstances were perhaps in no respect extraordinary save in the closeness and the consequent uncertainty of the result. For the first time in the history of the country it has been deemed best, in view of the present circumstances of the case, that the objections and questions in dispute in reference to counting the electoral vote should be referred to the decision of a tribunal appointed for this purpose. That tribunal, established for this sole purpose; its members, all of them men of long-established reputation for integrity and intelligence, and, with the exception of those who are also members of the supreme judiciary, chosen equally from both political parties; its deliberations enlightened by the research and the arguments of able counsel, was entitled to the fullest confidence of the American people.

Its decisions have been patiently waited for and accepted as legally conclusive by the general judgment of the public. For the present, opinion will widely vary as to the wisdom of the several conclusions announced by that tribunal.

This is to be anticipated in every instance where matters of dispute are made subject of arbitration under the forms of law. Human judgment is never unerring, and is rarely regarded as otherwise than wrong by the unsuccessful party in the contest.

The fact that two great political parties have in this way settled a dispute in regard to which good men differ as to the facts and the law, no less than as to the proper course to be pursued in solving the question in controversy, is an occasion for general rejoicing. Upon one point there is entire unanimity in public sentiment—that conflicting claims to the presidency must be amicably and peacefully adjusted, and that when so adjusted the general acquiescence of the nation ought surely to follow.

It has been reserved for a government of the people, where the right of suffrage is universal, to give to the world the first example in the history of a great nation in the midst of a struggle of opposing parties for power, hushing its party tumults, to yield the issue of the contest to adjustment according to the forms of law.

Regarding the South the President said:

Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that it is my earnest desire to regard and promote their truest interests, the interests of the white and of the colored people both and equally,

and to put forth my best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will forever wipe out in our political affairs the color line, and the distinction between the North and South, to the end that we may not have merely a united North or a united South, but a united country.

Referring to the matter of the civil service reform he said :

I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service, a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government, but a change in the system of appointment itself, a reform that shall be thorough, radical, and complete, a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government. They neither expected nor desired from public officers any partisan service.

They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. They held that appointments to office were not to be made, nor expected merely as rewards for partisan services, nor merely on the nomination of members of Congress as being entitled in any respect to the control of such appointments. The fact that both the great political parties of the country, in declaring their principles prior to the election, gave prominent place to the subject of reform of our civil service, recognizing and strongly urging its necessity in terms almost identical in their specific import with those I have here employed, must be accepted as a conclusive argument in behalf of those measures. It must be regarded as the expression of the united voice and will of the whole country upon this subject, and both political parties are virtually pledged to give it their unreserved support. The President of the United States of necessity owes his election to office to the suffrage and zealous labors of a political party, the members of which cherish with ardor, and regard as of essential importance, the principles of their party organization. But he should strive to be always mindful of the fact that he serves his party best who serves his country best.

President Hayes announced his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, William M. Evarts of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, then of Missouri; Postmaster-General, David M. Key of Tennessee; Attorney-General, Charles Devens of Massachusetts. The Cabinet was considered an unusually able and strong one. The President at once set about establishing a settlement of affairs in the South. Federal troops were soon withdrawn from South Carolina, and the administration of affairs passed into the hands of Governor Hampton. On April 20th the following letter was addressed to the Commander of the Army regarding the troops in New Orleans:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.
April 20, 1877.

GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN,
Commanding United States Army.

GENERAL: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a communication from the President of the United States, in which he directs that the detachment of the United States troops now stationed in the vicinity of the Mechanics' Institute, in the city of New Orleans, La., be withdrawn to such convenient barracks as may be selected for their occupation. You are hereby charged with the execution of this order, and will cause the withdrawal to take place on Tuesday next, the 24th of April, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE W. MCCRARY, Secretary of War.

Here, as was the case in Louisiana, the removal of the troops was followed by a complete establishment of the authority of the Democratic Governor.

A reform in the civil service was then attempted by the President, and the following letter was addressed to public officers:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 22, 1877.

SIR: I desire to call your attention to the following paragraph in a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury on the

conduct to be observed by officers of the General Government in relation to the elections: "No officer shall be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed." This rule is applicable to every department of the civil service. It should be understood by every officer of the General Government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements.

Very respectfully,

R. B. HAYES.

The Forty-fourth Congress had adjourned without making appropriations for the support of the army, and an extra session of the Forty-fifth Congress was made necessary, which was called to meet on the 15th day of October. The Senate was called to order by the Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, and in the House Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, Democrat, was elected Speaker, having received 149 votes against 132 cast for James A. Garfield. The extra session was taken up mostly with the necessary appropriation bills, and closed on the day previous to the commencement of the regular session.

The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, from May 10th to November 10, 1876, which marked the end of the first and beginning of the second century of our national existence, was a grand success in every way, and exhibited to millions of our own citizens, as well as to the world at large, the grand progress which had been made in the arts and sciences and material industries of the country. The attendance was very large, not only from our own States, but from abroad, reaching a total of upwards of nine million people. The close of the exhibition was followed by the excitement attendant upon the election and the development of the Electoral Commission and final vote. This was followed immediately by the inauguration of President Hayes. During the summer of 1877 large and many strikes took place among the employees of Northern railroads.

There were many riots and great destruction of property. Not only was it necessary to call upon State troops, but in several instances the Federal army was used to check the disorder.

An attempt was made at the first regular session of the Forty-fifth Congress during the winter of 1877-78 to restore the coinage of silver. On November 5, 1877, Representative Bland moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill providing for the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver, these coins to be "a legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract." The bill further stipulated that the owner of silver bullion might deposit it at the mints to be coined into such dollars for his benefit, upon the same terms as gold bullion. With this motion Mr. Bland at once became a national character, and the silver question an issue to remain more or less prominent in our national politics. Mr. Bland's motion prevailed by a vote of 164 to 34.

In the Senate Mr. Allison reported the bill from the Committee on Finance November 21st, but instead of providing for free coinage the Senate bill provided that not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion should be purchased each month and coined into the $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain dollars; providing also that the profit from coinage should go into the Treasury and not the pocket of the bullion owner. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 48 to 21, and was accepted by the House in this form. The President vetoed the bill, however, but on February 28, 1878, it was passed over the veto by a vote of 198 to 73 in the House and 46 to 19 in the Senate, the parties being divided in both Houses.

Silver was now worth only eighty-nine cents on the dollar, and it was thought that the policy of a system of limited coinage, which would maintain a considerable volume of silver in circulation, would be wise. It was foreseen that the inconvenient handling of the bulky silver dollars would force their retirement into the Treasury, as the people would prefer to carry the greenback or national notes. A very important provision was made, therefore, by which the holders of silver

dollars coined under the Bland act could deposit them with the Secretary of the Treasury and receive therefor a certificate of deposit (a "silver certificate"). So popular have been these receipts, although not a legal tender in the payment of debts, that up to the present time \$462,284,000 of these certificates have been issued by the Government. No other important measures were passed at this session of Congress which adjourned June 20, 1878.

The resumption of specie payments, which was to go into effect on January 1, 1879, was anticipated for several months and entered into the consideration of every commercial and financial enterprise. Among only a few of the most doubtful was there any thought but that the resumption would be made without any disturbance whatever in financial circles. The most complete preparations possible had been made by the Secretary of the Treasury for the event, and when the day came only straggling demands for coin were made. During the whole of the year 1879 the Treasury continued to receive coin, while but little demand was made for its payment therefrom. The resumption act and its complete fulfilment was another example of Republican wisdom and Republican action. The enactment of the law had been by Republican votes, and for the years following its enactment till its going into operation it had been constantly assailed by the Democratic party in both Houses of Congress, and in its national convention and national platform.

During the year 1879, George W. McCrary, Secretary of War, retired and was succeeded by Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota. In March, Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University, was appointed Minister to Berlin to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Bayard Taylor. In May, 1880, Postmaster-General D. M. Key retired and was succeeded by Horace Maynard of Tennessee. In January, James Russell Lowell of Massachusetts was appointed United States Minister to London, succeeding John Welsh of Pennsylvania. John W. Foster of Indiana was, early in the year 1880, appointed to fill the vacant mission at St. Petersburg. In December, Justice William Strong of the Supreme Court retired from the

bench, and Judge William B. Woods was appointed his successor. No legislation of great importance was completed during the first session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which adjourned June 16, 1880.

The administration of President Hayes was most important and beneficial, and yet the President was handicapped not only by the manner of his election, but by the fact that throughout his term he had not the support of his party. The Forty-fifth Congress, although Republican in the Senate, was Democratic in the House, while the Forty-sixth Congress was Democratic in both Senate and House. The action of the President in withdrawing the troops from the South, it must be confessed, did not at first meet with the hearty approval of the Republican party as a whole: on the contrary, it met with the decided disapproval of a large number. It was foreseen, and the prediction was fully verified, that the South would become solidly Democratic and would so remain indefinitely.

The cause of civil service reform made considerable progress during the term of Mr. Hayes, the portions of his messages referring to the subject being of permanent value. Reforms were instituted under his orders in the New York Post-Office and the New York Custom House, which have remained in force to the present time. No doubt the action of President Hayes and his messages did much in compelling both political parties to declare for civil service reform in their national platforms of 1880.

While Mr. Hayes, in his veto of the so-called "Bland Silver Bill," was no doubt honest in his convictions and wise in his conclusions, yet it seemed necessary at the time that there should be a limited coinage of the silver dollar, and many Republicans joined the Democratic majority in this legislation. The administration of President Hayes was completed without a single scandal of any nature, and the Republican party was undoubtedly much stronger before the country on the eve of the presidential convention and election of 1888 than it had been since 1868. At the same time Mr. Hayes was not a candidate before the national convention. He had intimated

to close friends that he did not desire the renomination, although undoubtedly he would have accepted it had it come to him with any substantial unanimity.

The seventh Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, beginning June 2, 1880. It was called to order by J. Donald Cameron, chairman of the Republican National Committee. George F. Hoar of Massachusetts was chosen as temporary chairman, who in his address to the convention said, among other things:

It is twenty years since the Republican Convention met in this city, and after a stormy but friendly contest, put in nomination Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. Lincoln has gone to his rest. His companion upon the ticket, in fresh and vigorous age, is present with us to-day, to give counsel from the stores of an experience gathered from a life of honorable public service. Lincoln has gone to his rest. Douglas and Breckenridge, his two competitors for the great office of the Presidency, sleep by his side. But, the parties which confronted each other then confront each other now, unchanged in purpose, in temper, and in character. The Democratic party was ruled then, as now, by the South. The single purpose of its being was to give political supremacy to the oligarchs of the South, and office, without influence, to their subservient Northern allies.

In the pursuit of that end, every great public interest was sacrificed or disregarded. Expending little for public improvements, either on the coast or on inland river or lake, in 1860 the credit of the Nation was poor, its treasury empty, its six per cent. bonds below par. Our unprotected manufactures contended at fearful odds with the pauper labor of Europe, on whose workshops we depended for a large portion of the necessities and comforts of life. Our little navy was scattered over the four quarters of the globe. Four millions of our countrymen were in hopeless bondage. To them every new State, as it took its place in the great family, but added a new dungeon to their gloomy prison-house.

At last, as the Democratic party let go its hold on power, the National flag itself seemed about to be folded and laid aside, to be regarded thenceforth as a miserable symbol of the futility and folly of the last great experiment of self-government. The Democratic party confronts us to-day, as I said, unchanged in purpose, in tem-

per, and in character. United in nothing else, proposing no other measure of policy, it wages its warfare upon the safeguards which the Nation has thrown around the purity of its elections. It can see nothing else of evil except that a freeman should cast a free vote under the protection of the National authority.

In Louisiana and Mississippi it is the accomplice of the White League and the Ku-Klux. In South Carolina it takes the honest ballot from the box, and stuffs tissue ballots in its place. In New York it issues fraudulent naturalization papers, threescore thousand in number. In Maine its ambitious larceny tries to pilfer a whole State Government at once. In Delaware it stands complacently by the whipping-post. As in war it found in the Constitution nothing which could protect the National life, so in peace it finds nothing there which can protect the National honor. Can you find in the history of the Democratic party for sixteen years anything that it has either done or tried to do, except to break down the legal safeguards which make free elections possible?

My friends, the Republican party has no such miserable history. It tells you of rebellion subdued; of slaves freed; of great public ways constructed; of rivers and harbors opened to commerce; of homestead laws for the settlers; of treaties protecting the rights of our naturalized citizens abroad; of public credit re-established; of debt diminished; of sound currency restored; of a flag floating everywhere, honored and respected, over peaceful seas and welcomed everywhere in friendly ports.

But not for these things alone does the Republican party challenge your respect or demand your confidence. National wealth may exist, manufactures may flourish, commerce may increase, in a nation whose people are degraded and enslaved. The keynote of every Republican platform, the principle of every Republican union, is found in its respect for the dignity of the individual man. Until that becomes the pervading principle of the Republic, from Canada to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, our mission is not ended. The Republic lives, the Republican party lives, but for this: That every man within our borders may dwell secure in a happy home, may cast and have counted his equal vote, and may send his child at the public charge to a free school.

Until these things come to pass, the mission of our party is not accomplished, nor is its conflicts with the ancient adversary ended.

No business was transacted the first day except partial organization. On the second day the temporary organization was made permanent with the addition of a vice-president and an assistant secretary from each State and Territory. Mr. Hoar, on resuming the chair, said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: You have manifested in the choice you have made for permanent presiding officer a disposition to a wise economy in the matter of opening speeches. One good reason occurs to me for the selection that you have made, and that is, that having heard one speech from me, for reasons entirely satisfactory to each delegate you have no inclination to hear another. The convention is now permanently organized.

No further business was transacted the second day. On the third day Roscoe Conkling submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man shall hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

The roll of States was called on the motion and resulted in 716 yeas and 3 nays, the latter being cast by West Virginia delegates.

Upon the announcement of the vote, Senator Conkling sent to the chair the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide by the action of the convention, do not deserve, and have forfeited their votes in this convention.

Mr. Campbell of West Virginia then addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President: Before the resolution is put to this convention, I desire to make a few remarks. There are three gentlemen from West Virginia, good and true Republicans, who have voted in the negative. I came to the City of Chicago, when a young man, from the State of Virginia, after having submitted for twenty years to contumely and to violence in that State for my Republican princi-

ples,—and if it has come to this, that in this City of Chicago, a delegate from that State to a Republican Convention cannot have a free expression of his opinion, I for one am willing to withdraw from this convention. Mr. President, I have been a Republican in the State of Virginia from my youth. For twenty-three years I have published a Republican newspaper in that State. I have supported every Presidential Republican nominee in that time. I expect to support the nominee of this convention. But, sir, as a Republican, I imbibed my principles from the great statesman from New York, William H. Seward, with whom I had an early acquaintance by virtue of my having gone to school with him near the City of Utica, from which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] now hails. I was a Republican then, and I made the acquaintance of that distinguished gentleman. I came home, and in my youth I became a newspaper editor. From that day to this—from the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry all through the troubles of the last twenty-five years—I have consistently and always supported our State and National Republican nominees. But, Mr. President, I feel, as a Republican, that there is a principle in this question, and I will never come into any convention and agree beforehand that whatever may be done by that convention shall have my endorsement. Sir, as a free man, whom God made free, I always intend to carry my sovereignty under my own hat. I never intend that any body of men shall take it from me. I do not, Mr. President, make my living by politics; I make it by my labor as a newspaper editor; and I am not afraid to go home and say that I stood up here in this convention and expressed my honest opinion, as I was not afraid to stand up in the State of West Virginia, when but 2,500 men were found to vote for Abraham Lincoln, though, I am glad to say, that that party has risen to-day to 45,000 votes under the training that we received, and from the early inspiration of Republican principles. I am not afraid, sir, to go home and face those men as I have faced them always.

After further discussion Mr. Conkling withdrew the resolution.

The remainder of the day was taken up with the credentials of delegates.

On the fourth day, after a report on rules had been adopted, the platform was reported to the convention by the chairman

of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Edwards Pierrepont of New York. They were read to the convention by the secretary, Mr. Clisbee, as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1880.

The Republican party in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration. It suppressed the rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed four millions of human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six per cent. to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railways have increased from thirty-one thousand miles in 1860 to more than eighty-two thousand miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from seven hundred million dollars to one billion one hundred and fifty million dollars in the same time, and our exports, which were twenty million dollars less than our imports in 1860, were two hundred and sixty-four million more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government beside the accruing interest on the public debt, and has annually disbursed more than thirty million dollars for soldiers' pensions. It has paid eight hundred and eighty-eight million dollars of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charged from nearly one hundred and fifty-one million dollars to less than eighty-nine million dollars. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon the record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional duty. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We affirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that, slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories;

that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our watercourses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the hour of battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years since their final victory,—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with Congress, or with the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of those powers to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interposition between the people and proposed partisan laws.

We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national and State governments and the control of place and position they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of the government depend, and have crushed the rights of individuals; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have

endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety delegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression, and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use every legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be practicable; and we submit it to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to the party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there are now order, confidence, and hope.

The following additional resolution, submitted by Mr. James M. Barker of Massachusetts, was unanimously agreed to and adopted as a part of the platform:

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopted the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

At the evening session the new national committee was

announced, and on the motion of Mr. William P. Frye of Maine the roll of States were called in alphabetical order for nominations for a candidate for President of the United States. Nominations were then made as follows:

James G. Blaine of Maine, by James F. Joy of Michigan; William Windom of Minnesota, by E. F. Drake of that State; Ulysses S. Grant, by Roscoe Conkling of New York; John Sherman of Ohio, by James A. Garfield of that State; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by Frederick Billings of that State; Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by J. B. Cassady of Wisconsin. The nomination of Mr. Blaine was seconded by F. M. Pixley of California and W. P. Frye of Maine; that of General Grant, by William O. Bradley of Kentucky; that of Mr. Sherman, by F. C. Winkler of Wisconsin and R. B. Elliott of South Carolina; that of Mr. Edmunds, by John E. Sanford of Massachusetts, and that of Mr. Washburne, by Augustus Brandagee of Connecticut.

In nominating General Grant, Mr. Conkling began his address as follows:

And when asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply will be,
He hails from Appomattox,
And its famous apple tree.

Then followed an address rarely equalled before or since in a national convention. It is only to be compared to the famous nominating address of Robert G. Ingersoll in naming James G. Blaine in the convention of 1876.

James A. Garfield of Ohio, while presenting the name of John Sherman of that State, after the close of a carefully worded sentence, said: "And now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want?" and while pausing for a reply there came a clear voice from a delegate, "We want Garfield": but Garfield resumed his plea for Sherman. It was nearly midnight when the nominating speeches were concluded, and the convention adjourned until the following Monday morning. The motion then made by Mr. Hale of Maine, and seconded by Mr. Conkling of New York, that the convention proceed to ballot for a candidate for President, was agreed to.

It is needless to say that every one of the thirty-six ballots

taken during the following two days was watched with eagerness, not only in the convention itself, but throughout the length and breadth of the land. The most essential ballots are given as follows:

	1st	28th	30th	34th	35th	36th
Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois	304	307	306	312	313	306
James G. Blaine, Maine	284	279	279	275	257	42
John Sherman, Ohio	93	91	120	107	99	3
George F. Edmunds, Vermont	33	31	11	11	11	
Elihu B. Washburne, Illinois	31	35	33	30	23	5
William Windom, Minnesota	10	10	4	4	3	
James A. Garfield, Ohio		2	2	17	50	399

There was little change for the first thirty ballots. General Grant's vote fluctuated from 302 to 309, Mr. Blaine's varying from 275 to 285. General Garfield received one vote on the second, and nine on the twenty-two succeeding ballots. In eight of these ballots he received two votes and in five none. On the thirty-third ballot Mr. Garfield still received but one vote; on the thirty-fourth Wisconsin cast sixteen of her votes for Garfield, which, together with the one from Pennsylvania, gave him a total of seventeen; on the thirty-fifth ballot Indiana gave Garfield her twenty-seven votes, while he received also four from Maryland, one from Mississippi, one from North Carolina, one from Pennsylvania, and sixteen from Wisconsin, giving him fifty in all; on the thirty-sixth ballot he received 399, all but 42 of the votes previously given to Mr. Blaine having been transferred to him. On this ballot, however, the 306 for Grant stood unchanged. After the announcement of the vote the Chair put the question: "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?" Mr. Conkling had made the motion and spoken in favor of it, as had also John A. Logan of Illinois, James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania, Eugene Hale of Maine, Charles Foster of Ohio, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, and others. The motion was unanimously agreed to. Benjamin Harrison in a short speech said:

Mr. President: I am not in very good voice to address the Con-

vention. Indiana has been a little noisy within the last hour, and, though the chairman of this delegation, I forgot myself so much as to abuse my voice. I should not have detained the convention to add one word to what has been said in a spirit of such commendable harmony over this nomination, if it had not been for the overpartiality of my Grant friends from Kentucky, with whom we have had a good deal of pleasant intercourse.

They insist, sir, that as I am the only defeated candidate for the Presidency on the floor of this Convention, having received one vote from some misguided friend from Pennsylvania, who, however, unfortunately for me, did not have "staying qualities," and dropped out on the next ballot.

I want to say to the Ohio delegation that they may carry to their distinguished citizen, who has received the nomination at the hands of this Convention, my ungrudging support. I bear him no malice. But, Mr. President, I will defer my speech until the campaign is hot, and then, on every stump in Indiana, and wherever else my voice can help this great Republican cause on to victory, I hope to be found.

After recess the convention proceeded to nominate a candidate for Vice-President, and names were presented as follows:

Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by Mr. Pixley of California; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, by Mr. Henry C. Robinson of that State; Thomas Settle of North Carolina, by Mr. Hicks of Florida; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, by Mr. Houck of that State; Chester A. Arthur of New York, by Mr. Stewart L. Woodford of that State; Edmund J. Davis of Texas, by Mr. William Chambers of that State.

The result of the ballot was as follows:

Chester A. Arthur of New York.....	468
Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois.....	193
Marshall Jewell of Connecticut.....	44
Horace Maynard of Tennessee.....	30
Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi.....	8
James L. Alcorn of Mississippi.....	4
Edmund J. Davis of Texas.....	2
Thomas Settle of Florida.....	1
Stewart L. Woodford of New York.....	1

The nomination was then made unanimous.

On the 9th of June the Greenbackers held their convention at Chicago. The Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr of Indiana was temporary chairman, and Richard Trevelick of Michigan the permanent president. After a platform was reported and adopted, James B. Weaver of Iowa was nominated for President of the United States, and B. J. Chambers of Texas for Vice-President.

On the 17th of the same month the Prohibitionists held their convention at Cleveland, Ohio. It was considered of so little importance that its proceedings were not noticed in the leading papers, although 142 delegates had gathered from twelve States. General Neal Dow of Maine was nominated for President of the United States, and A. M. Thompson of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Democrats met at Cincinnati, Ohio, in their national convention on the 22d. Previous to the assembling of the delegates there was no certainty whatever as to candidates. It had been the boast of the Democrats in 1887, after the Electoral Commission had seated Mr. Hayes, that Mr. Tilden would receive his vindication in 1880 and a triumphant election, but the vindication did not materialize and Mr. Tilden was only a minor candidate before the convention. Mr. George Hoadley of Ohio was made temporary chairman, and ex-Governor John W. Stevenson of Kentucky was chosen permanent president of the convention. Two sets of delegates were present from New York, one representing the regular Democrats, and the other Tammany Hall. John Kelly, the Tammany boss, had said before the convention that if Tilden was nominated Tammany would not support him. But although the majority of the delegates were anti-Tilden, yet Tammany was excluded from the convention and the delegation was given no vote. The platform was reported by Henry Watterson, and unanimously adopted. The seventh plank read as follows :

The grand fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military

violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue preceded and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of freemen.

Mr. Tilden was allowed to retire from the contest with the following graceful commendation :

The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

The matter of nominations for President was quickly reached and the first ballot was taken at the close of the second day's proceedings. It gave Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania 171 votes; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware 153½, and the rest scattered among eight other candidates, Mr. Tilden receiving 38 votes. On the second ballot General Hancock gained so rapidly that the delegates began changing their votes in his favor, although before the final changes were made Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania had received 128½ votes, more than did Mr. Bayard on the second ballot. After the changes the result was announced as follows: Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, 705; Thomas S. Hendricks of Indiana, 20; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, 2; Samuel J. Tilden of New York, 1.

William H. English of Indiana and Richard M. Bishop of Ohio were voted on for candidates for the Vice-Presidency; but before the end of the ballot Mr. Bishop withdrew and Mr. English was nominated by acclamation.

The campaign of 1880 was a most interesting and memorable one. The fight in the Republican Convention had been prolonged to a degree that carried with it much feeling, and sores which were not healed at the close of the convention. Mr. Conkling, in his strenuous plea for the nomination of General Grant, had offended all the friends of Mr. Blaine, and it was apparent that a breach was made which could not well be filled. Mr. Conkling and his friends had been allowed to name the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and at first the name of Mr. Arthur was very coldly received by the rank and file of the party throughout the country. It was not thought that he was up to the standard, or, in fact, that he could ever become presidential timber, although it probably did not enter the mind of a single Republican throughout the length and breadth of the land, that in a few months Chester A. Arthur might be the President of the United States.

It was some time after the opening of the campaign before Mr. Grant and Mr. Conkling gave any signs that they proposed to support Garfield. But after Maine in September had gone Democratic, Mr. Conkling and General Garfield had a conference at the latter's home in Ohio, after which the Conkling-Grant forces were zealous in their support of the candidate up to the close of the campaign.

The personalities of the campaign were entirely upon one side, General Hancock being treated by the Republicans with the utmost kindness and without attack of any nature. On the contrary, Mr. Garfield and his character were assailed fiercely by the Democrats throughout the canvass. He had been a member of the Forty-second Congress, and was now accused of having been a beneficiary of the Credit-Mobilier. It was alleged that he had received a dividend amounting to \$329, and this number was used throughout a portion of the campaign wherever it could be painted on a wall or sidewalk, or used in the columns of the Democratic press. Not that Democrats really thought Mr. Garfield to have been corrupt, but it was a very good Democratic campaign argument and appealed particularly to the ignorant voter. About a fortnight before the close of the campaign a letter was published which

purported to have been written by General Garfield to H. L. Morey of the Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass. The letter was as follows:

(Personal and confidential.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1880.

DEAR SIR: Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

I take it that the question of employees is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

We have a treaty with the Chinese Government which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the General Government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

H. L. MOREY, Employers' Union, Lynn, Massachusetts.

Although General Garfield at once denounced the letter as a forgery, yet a member of the Democratic National Committee, who was familiar with General Garfield's handwriting, expressed the opinion that it was genuine, which he based upon an examination of the manuscript, a facsimile of which was generally printed. It was only just before the election that an attaché of the newspaper where the letter first appeared, was arrested on the charge of forgery, and an investigation was begun in a New York court. Evidence was produced showing that there was no such person as H. L. Morey of Lynn, and proving conclusively that the letter was a forgery and had been promulgated for political effect.

The Tariff question was suddenly introduced into the campaign. First, the sentence in the tariff plank of the Democratic platform, declaring in favor of "a Tariff for revenue only" gave the Republicans a chance to accuse the Democrats of wanting to legislate in favor of absolute Free Trade, and in face of the utterance of their platform the Democrats found it hard to

reply to this accusation. General Hancock, who it was supposed had no particular knowledge whatever of the Tariff question, at once pronounced it to be a local issue, and the assertion has never been forgotten.

Says A. K. McClure, in *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* :

Garfield possessed more political honors at one time than any other public man in the history of the country. After the November election of 1880, he was the Congressman from his district ; he was United States Senator-elect, having been chosen by the Ohio Legislature in January of the same year, and he was President-elect. He had many elements of popularity, but was not a courageous leader like Blaine. He was not a strong, aggressive man, although able in debate and one of the most scholarly of our public men. He had a most difficult rôle to fill when he came into the Presidency. Conkling wholly distrusted him when Garfield was first nominated for President, as was clearly evidenced by Conkling failing to call upon Garfield when Garfield made his first visit to New York after the Chicago Convention, although he stopped at the same hotel where Conkling was a guest. Later in the campaign Conkling was earnestly urged to visit Garfield, and he made the visit, resulting in the Conkling and Grant forces earnestly supporting Garfield's election.

Although the Democratic platform had announced that the so-called fraud issue of 1877 "precedes and dwarfs every other," yet but little use was made of the issue during the campaign, neither was there any so-called "waving of the bloody shirt," or the introduction of the Southern question into the campaign by the Democrats. The election resulted in a very small plurality for Mr. Garfield, owing to the fact that few Republican votes were allowed to be cast in the Southern States, which were now solidly Democratic and under the complete control of the leaders of the Democratic party. In some Southern States there were only half as many Republican votes counted in 1880 as in 1876. The electoral vote was 214 for Garfield and Arthur, and 155 for Hancock and English. Both the popular and electoral vote is given on the next page.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE	
	James A. Garfield, Ohio	Winfield S. Hancock, Pennsylvania	James B. Weaver, Iowa	Neal Dow, Maine	Garfield and Arthur	Hancock and English
Alabama	56,221	91,185	4,642			10
Arkansas	42,436	60,775	4,079			6
California	80,348	80,426	3,392		1	5
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435		3	
Connecticut	67,071	64,415	868	409	6	
Delaware	14,133	15,275	120			3
Florida	23,654	27,964				4
Georgia	54,086	102,470	969			11
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,358	443	21	
Indiana	232,164	225,522	12,986		15	
Iowa	183,927	105,845	32,701	592	11	
Kansas	121,549	59,801	19,851	25	5	
Kentucky	106,306	149,068	11,499	258		12
Louisiana	¹ 38,637	65,067	439			8
Maine	74,039	² 65,171	4,408	93	7	
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818			8
Massachusetts	165,205	111,960	4,548	682	13	
Michigan	185,341	131,597	34,895	942	11	
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,207	286	5	
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797			8
Missouri	153,567	208,609	35,135			15
Nebraska	54,979	28,523	3,950		3	
Nevada	8,732	9,613				3
New Hampshire	44,852	40,794	528	180	5	
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617	191		9
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	1,517	35	
North Carolina	115,874	124,208	1,126			10
Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,216	22	
Oregon	20,619	19,948	249		3	
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,939	29	
Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236	20	4	
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566			7
Tennessee	107,677	128,191	5,917	43		12
Texas	57,893	156,428	27,405			8
Vermont	45,567	18,316	1,215		5	
Virginia	84,020	³ 128,586				11
West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079			5
Wisconsin	144,400	114,649	7,986	69	10	
Total	4,454,416	4,444,952	308,578	10,305	214	155

¹ Two Republican tickets were voted for.

² Votes for a fusion electoral ticket, made up of three Democrats and four Greenbackers. A "straight" Greenback ticket was also voted for.

³ Two Democratic tickets were voted for in Virginia. The regular ticket received 96,912, and was successful; the "Readjusters" polled 31,674 votes.

CHAPTER V.

BRIEF TERM OF GARFIELD—ADMINISTRATION OF ARTHUR— TARIFF COMMISSION—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE inauguration of President Garfield, March 4, 1881, was attended with unusual display. It took place in the Senate Chamber, where were gathered the two Houses of Congress, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the diplomatic representatives of other nations, and a large assemblage of visitors, including the wife and venerable mother of the new President. From his inaugural message, which was destined to be the only message given to the American people by President Garfield, the following is taken :

My countrymen, we do not differ in our judgment concerning the controversies of the first generations, and fifty years hence our children will not be divided in their opinions concerning our controversies. They will surely bless their fathers and their fathers' God that the Union was preserved, that Slavery was overthrown, and that both races were made equal before the law. We may retard, but we cannot prevent. Is it not possible for us now to make a truce with time by anticipating and accepting its inevitable verdict? Enterprises of the highest importance to our moral and material well-being invite us, and offer ample scope for the employment of our best powers. Let all our people, leaving behind them the battle-field of dead issues, move forward, and, in the strength of liberty and restored Union, win the grander victories of peace. The prosperity which now prevails is without a parallel in our history. Fruitful seasons have done much to secure it, but they have not done all. The preservation of public credit, and the resumption of specie payments, so successfully attained by the Administration of

my predecessor, have enabled our people to secure the blessings which the seasons brought. By experience of commercial nations, in all ages, it has been found that gold and silver afford the only safe foundation for the monetary system. Confusion has recently been created by the variations in the relative value of the two metals, but I confidently believe that an arrangement can be made between the leading commercial nations which will secure the general use of both metals. Congress should provide that compulsory coinage of silver, now required by law, may not disturb our monetary system by driving either metal out of circulation. If possible, such adjustment should be made that the purchasing power of every coined dollar will be exactly equal as a debt-paying power in all the countries of the world. The chief duty of the National Government in connection with the currency of the country is to coin money and declare its value. Grave doubts have been entertained whether Congress is authorized by the Constitution to make any form of paper money a legal tender. The present issue of United States paper has been sustained by the necessities of war, but paper should depend for its value and currency upon its convenience, and in its prompt redemption in coin at the will of the holder, and not upon its compulsory circulation. These notes are not money, but a promise to pay money. If the holders demand it, the promise should be kept. The refunding of the national debt, at a lower rate of interest, should be accomplished without compelling the withdrawal of national-bank notes, and thus disturb the business of the country. I venture to refer to the position I have occupied on financial questions during a long service in Congress, and to say that time and experience have strengthened the opinions I have often expressed on these subjects. The finance of the Government shall suffer no detriment which it may be possible for my Administration to prevent.

The interests of agriculture deserve more attention from the Government than they have yet received. The farms of the United States are the homes and give employment to more than one half our people, and furnish much the largest part of all our exports. As the Government lights our coast for the protection of mariners and the benefit of commerce, so it should give to the tillers of the soil the best light and practical science.

Our manufactures are rapidly making us industrially independent, and are opening to capital and labor new and profitable fields of

employment. Their steady and healthy growth should be maintained. Our facilities for transportation should be promoted by continued improvement of our harbors and great interior waterways, and by increase of our tonnage on the oceans. The development of the world's commerce has led to urgent demand for shortening the great sea-voyage around Cape Horn by the construction of ship-canals or railways across the isthmus which unites the two continents. Various plans to this end have been suggested and will need consideration, but none of them have been sufficiently matured to warrant United States aid. The subject, however, is one which immediately engages the attention of the Government, with a view to a thorough protection to American interests. We will urge no narrow policy nor seek peculiar or exclusive privileges in any commercial route, but, in the language of my predecessor, I believe it to be the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any inter-oceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interest.

On the following day the Cabinet appointments were submitted to the Senate, and confirmed, as follows: James G. Blaine of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, Secretary of War; Wayne MacVeagh of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; Thomas L. James of New York, Postmaster-General; William H. Hunt of Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy; and Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, Secretary of the Interior. Then immediately followed a scramble for appointments and places such as probably never has been equalled since the weeks following the inauguration of William Henry Harrison in 1840, which led to his death. Indirectly, again, the bitterness over presidential offices was to lead to the death of another President. One of the first diplomatic appointments was that of Levi P. Morton of New York as Minister to France. It was supposed that this appointment, as well as that of Postmaster-General, met with the approval of Senator Conkling, who no doubt was consulted before the appointments were made. The selection of Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State, which made him the closest adviser of the President, was anything but pleasing

to Mr. Conkling, and the feeling which had for some time existed between Blaine and Conkling was now intensified as the minor appointments came to be made.

For the most part Senators Conkling and Platt were consulted regarding the appointments in New York State, although one exception was made which led to most serious consequences. William H. Robertson, who had led a part of the New York delegation against Grant in the convention of 1880, when the unit rule was broken, was nominated for Collector at the Port of New York. The appointment was, of course, most distasteful to Mr. Conkling, and he believed that Mr. Blaine had inspired the selection of Mr. Robertson. Mr. Garfield disclaimed that he had made any pledge to Senator Conkling regarding this appointment, and that he wished in no way to seem to slight his privilege of being consulted regarding the New York appointments, maintaining that the collectorship was a national office, and that the appointment was a national rather than a State appointment. The Senate was evenly divided between the two parties, giving the Vice-President the deciding vote. It was thought at first that Mr. Conkling's strength in the Senate was sufficient to prevent the confirmation of any one objectionable to him, and when it seemed as if the uncontested nominations would all be confirmed, and that of Mr. Robertson postponed to the regular session in December, the President at once withdrew all the New York nominations except that of Mr. Robertson, which forced the issue at once.

When the New York Senators saw that there was no chance to defeat the confirmation of Mr. Robertson, they both resigned on May 16th, and appealed to their State legislature for re-election and vindication of their action. The fight was now transferred to the New York Legislature in session at Albany, where the forces were divided into what became known as the "Stalwarts," supporting Conkling and Platt, and the "Half-Breeds," supporting Garfield and Blaine. On July 17th Warner Miller was elected to succeed Mr. Platt, while on July 23d, Elbridge G. Lapham was elected as Mr. Conkling's successor.

In the meantime there occurred an event as the outcome of the affair most lamentable in the extreme. On the 2d of July the President started to attend the commencement exercises at Williams College, his Alma Mater. As he reached the railroad station in company with Secretary Blaine, two pistol-shots were heard, one of which took effect in the President's back. He fell to the floor unconscious, and as soon as possible was taken to the White House. At first it was thought that the injury would not be fatal, and no attempt was made to extract the bullet. A consultation of leading physicians was held, and for some days the reports concerning the President's condition were more or less favorable. As the summer advanced, the heat became insufferable, and on the 6th of September the President was removed to Long Branch to the cottage of Mr. C. J. Francklyn in Elberon Park, where he died on September 17th. The bulletin of the last day, written by Dr. Bliss, concluded as follows: "The brave and heroic sufferer, the Nation's patient for whom all had labored so cheerfully and unceasingly, has passed away." After brief religious ceremonies on the 21st at Long Branch, the body was taken to the Capitol at Washington. On the 23d, following the imposing and impressive ceremonies in the rotunda, the body was taken to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. The day of the funeral, September 26th, was observed throughout the entire country in response to a proclamation of President Arthur, who had taken the oath of office on the 22d, when he delivered the following brief inaugural:

For the fourth time in the history of the republic its Chief Magistrate has been removed by death. All hearts are filled with grief and horror at the hideous crime which has darkened our land; and the memory of the murdered President, his protracted sufferings, his unyielding fortitude, the example and achievements of his life, and the pathos of his death will forever illumine the pages of our history.

For the fourth time the officer elected by the people and ordained by the Constitution to fill a vacancy so created is called to assume the executive chair. The wisdom of our fathers, foreseeing even the most dire possibilities, made sure that the government should never be imperiled because of the uncertainty of human life. Men may

die, but the fabrics of our free institutions remain unshaken. No high or more assuring proof could exist of the strength and permanence of popular government than the fact that, though the chosen of the people be struck down, his constitutional successor is peacefully installed without shock or strain, except the sorrow which mourns the bereavement. All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience.

Prosperity blesses our country, our fiscal policy is fixed by law, is well grounded and generally approved. No threatening issue mars our foreign intercourse, and the wisdom, integrity, and thrift of our people may be trusted to continue undisturbed the present assured career of peace, tranquillity, and welfare. The gloom and anxiety which have enshrouded the country must make repose especially welcome now. No demand for speedy legislation has been heard; no adequate occasion is apparent for an unusual session of Congress. The Constitution defines the functions and powers of the Executive as clearly as those of either of the other two departments of the Government, and he must answer for the just exercise of the discretion it permits and the performance of the duties it imposes. Summoned to these high duties and responsibilities, and profoundly conscious of their magnitude and gravity, I assume the trust imposed by the Constitution, relying for aid on Divine guidance and the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people.

No immediate changes in the Cabinet were made, though Mr. Lincoln was the only one of Mr. Garfield's Cabinet to fill out the term of President Arthur. In November, Secretary Windom was succeeded by Charles J. Folger of New York; in December, upon the resignation of Mr. MacVeagh, Benjamin H. Brewster of Pennsylvania was appointed Attorney-General; at about the same time Secretary of State Blaine was succeeded by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. Early in 1882 Postmaster-General James handed in his resignation

and was succeeded by Timothy O. Howe of Wisconsin. During December of the same year Chief Justice Horace Gray, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, was appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Nathan Clifford.

The regular session of the Forty-seventh Congress assembled at Washington on December 5, 1881. David Davis of Illinois, who had been selected president *pro tempore*, took the chair. In the House, which contained a Republican majority, Warren J. Keifer of Ohio was elected Speaker. On February 27, 1882, the Speaker said:

This day has been dedicated by the action of the two Houses of Congress to services in commemoration of the life and death of James Abram Garfield, late President of the United States. This action was taken through the adoption of concurrent resolutions by the unanimous vote of the two Houses, presented by a select joint committee appointed "to consider and report by what token of respect, esteem, and affection it may be proper for Congress to express its and the nation's deep sensibility over the event of the decease of our late President."

The House is now assembled and ready to perform its part in the solemn duty."

The program as arranged was carried out. The oration delivered by James G. Blaine was perhaps one of the most splendid tributes to a public man ever delivered in the National Capitol or elsewhere. It is impossible to reproduce the whole of this grand oration, but the author feels fully warranted in quoting the following:

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the other, and yet with a single trait in common—the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage, the varying phases of unlookedfor-

assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find, in the parliamentary annals of the world, a parallel to Mr. Clay in 1841, when, at sixty-four years of age, he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler, with deepest scorn, the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful, when in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President, and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet, and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these great men Garfield differed radically — differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they did not; and, in the breadth of his congressional work, he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them

brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal-octavo volumes of congressional record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice, and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives, from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history, and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed — measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own life-time, and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He, perhaps, more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning, and the patient industry of investigation, to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer. . . .

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fatal day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of

contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is for ever silenced, and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the love of surviving friends; from the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

In the House of Representatives on March 28, 1882, the following bill was presented:

Be it enacted, etc., That a commission is hereby created to be called the "Tariff Commission," to consist of nine members.

Section 2. That the President of the United States shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint nine commissioners from civil life, one of whom, the first named, shall be the President of the commission. The commissioners shall receive as compensation for their services each at the rate of ten dollars per day when engaged in active duty, and actual traveling and other necessary expenses. The commission shall have power to employ a stenographer and a messenger; and the foreign compensation and expenses to be audited and paid by the Secretary of the Treasury out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 3. That it shall be the duty of said commission to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, and the existing system of internal revenue laws, upon a scale of justice to all interests; and for the purpose of fully examining the matters which may come before it, said commission, in the prosecution of its inquiries, is empowered to visit such different portions and sections of the country as it may deem advisable.

Sec. 4. That the commission shall report to Congress the results of their investigation, and the testimony taken in the course of the same, from time to time, and make their final report not later than the first Monday in January, 1883.

After a short debate it passed the House by a vote of 151 to 83, 57 not voting; and on May 9th, without debate, it passed the Senate by a vote of 35 to 19, 22 not voting.

Although President Arthur had said in his inaugural message: "Prosperity blesses our country, our fiscal policy is fixed by law, is well-grounded and generally approved. . . . No demand for speedy legislation has been heard"; yet in less than a year it was thought best to appoint a Tariff Commission, not to find out if any changes in the Tariff were necessary, but what changes. It is probable that had there been no surplus revenue during the previous three years, there would have been no Tariff Commission in 1882. In 1880 the excess of

receipts over ordinary expenditures gave the Treasury a surplus of \$68,678,864. In the following year this surplus had been increased to \$101,130,654, while during the year 1882 it reached the unprecedented amount of \$145,543,810. It may be said here that the surplus continued large for the remainder of the decade, averaging over \$100,000,000 for the following eight years. At this time there were a few quite pronounced Protectionists in the Democratic party, while the Republican party contained a few men whose minds were not fully made up as to whether they believed fully in Protection or not. All agreed, however, that something should be done to reduce the surplus, and the Tariff Commission was created for the purpose of doing work that should have been done in the Committee on Ways and Means. On the 7th of June the President sent to the Senate the names of William A. Wheeler of New York, John L. Hayes of Massachusetts, Henry W. Oliver, Jr., of Pennsylvania, Austin M. Garland of Illinois, Jacob Ambler of Ohio, John S. Phelps of Missouri, Robert P. Porter of the District of Columbia, John W. H. Underwood of Georgia, and Duncan F. Kenner of Louisiana. Mr. Wheeler declined the appointment, and several gentlemen to whom it was offered, including Mr. A. A. Low of New York, the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, and the Hon. Erastus Corning, refused to accept it. Mr. Phelps of Missouri also declined, and the two vacant places were filled, on the 16th of June, by the appointment of Alexander R. Boteler of West Virginia, and William H. McMahon of New York.

The commission as finally selected was very decidedly a Protective one, and it was felt that whatever might be their conclusions the industrial interests of the country would in no way be jeopardized. Sessions were held at different cities throughout the country, where hearings were given to all who requested them. It was not till December 4th that the report of the commission, which it had spent some time in preparing at the conclusion of the testimony, was submitted to Congress. The report stated, among other things:

The practical question presented to the commission is that of

reconciling the interests of revenue, including the considerations of its sufficient maintenance or possible reduction, with justice to the interests of the nation involved in the preservation of its industries and the security of its labor. The legislation to be recommended is for the present, and not for posterity, which must meet its own emergencies, and the determination of this question involves considerations of expediency, not the least of which is that the measures recommended be such as shall be acceptable to the country and its representatives in Congress. It must accept the facts that discrimination in the imposition of import duties, a discrimination for the most part positive and avowed, and always, at least, with an incidental reference to the defense of the national industries, has been the policy of the country for generations; that in consequence of this policy thousands of millions of dollars have been invested in special pursuits; that the whole business of the country has been adjusted to the conditions of things growing out of this policy, and is inseparably identified with it; and that a subversive or radical change in the present economic system would throw labor out of employment, ruinously depreciate values, and create a general industrial and commercial disaster. With these views, with the unmistakable evidences of public opinion against radical changes, with the whole current of the testimony before the commission in recognition of the necessity of preserving the general structure of our tariff system, with the clear sanction of the law creating this body, and its injunction to render justice to all interests, the commission has deemed it proper to limit its work to a revision, although a substantial revision, of the existing tariff.

And then, referring to the fact that the commission had early in its deliberations learned that a substantial reduction in the revenue was necessary, the report continues as follows:

The commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent. The reduction, slight in some cases, in others not attempted, is in many cases from 40 to 50

per cent. The actual amount of the total reduction cannot be stated with precision, partly from want of time to make the calculations required for any details in the brief period intervening between the final determination in particular cases and the preparation of this report; and there is no exact standard by which to estimate the amount of reduction in revenue, on account of the varying character, amount, and prices of commodities in the importations of different years. If the reduction reaches the amount at which the commission has aimed, and if there is any truth in the allegation of the opponents of the present economic system, that a duty on articles such as are produced in this country, whether in manufactures or agriculture, enhances the price to the consumer, not only of what is imported, but of the whole domestic production, to an amount of which the duty is a measure, the reduction proposed by the commission would benefit consumers to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars.

Not only did the commission present a series of schedules of duties to be imposed under its proposed revisions of the law, but it also suggested various changes in the administrative methods of collecting the revenue. The report was signed by all the members of the commission except Mr. McMahon, who died before it was finished. There were also what might be called unimportant individual minority recommendations.

In his message to Congress at the opening of the second session of the Forty-seventh Congress, Monday, December 4, 1882, President Arthur said :

The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions both of its burdens and its benefits. This fact was practically recognized by a majority of each House of Congress in the passage of the act creating the Tariff Commission. The report of that commission will be placed before you at the beginning of this session, and will, I trust, afford you such information as to the condition and prospects of the various commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and other interests of the country, and contain such suggestions for statutory revision, as will practically aid your action upon this important subject.

The revenue from customs for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879, amounted to \$137,000,000.

It has in the three succeeding years reached, first, \$186,000,000, then \$198,000,000, and finally, as has been already stated, \$220,000,000.

The income from this source for the fiscal year which will end on June 30, 1883, will doubtless be considerably in excess of the sum last mentioned.

If the tax on domestic spirits is to be retained, it is plain, therefore, that large reductions from the customs revenues are entirely feasible. While recommending this reduction, I am far from advising the abandonment of the policy of so discriminating in the adjustment of details as to afford aid and protection to domestic labor. But the present system should be so revised as to equalize the public burden among all classes and occupations and bring it into closer harmony with the present needs of industry.

Without entering into minute detail, which under present circumstances is quite unnecessary, I recommend an enlargement of the free list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, practically those of cotton, iron, and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duties upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, silk, wool, and woolen goods.

If a general revision of the tariff shall be found to be impracticable at this session, I express the hope that at least some of the more conspicuous inequalities of the present law may be corrected before your final adjournment. One of them is specially referred to by the Secretary. In view of a recent decision of the Supreme Court, the necessity of amending the law by which the Dutch standard of color is adopted as the test of the saccharine strength of sugars is too obvious to require comment.

The report of the Tariff Commission was considered by the House Committee on Ways and Means, and on January 16, 1883, a Tariff bill was reported to the House from this committee. In the meantime, however, a bill to reduce internal revenue taxation, which had previously passed the House, and which had been referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate, was reported back January 4, 1883, with amendments which would result practically in the revision of the whole Tariff system both in its schedules and administration, these amend-

ments being also based upon the report of the Tariff Commission. The Senate most zealously debated the amended bill and passed it on February 20th by a vote of 42 to 19, 15 not voting. It was then determined by the House to abandon its own bill and act on the Internal Revenue bill, which, as amended, had been passed by the Senate. A most important contention now arose, which will be found embodied in the following preamble and resolution adopted by the House:

Whereas, House bill 5538, entitled "An act to reduce internal revenue tariff, and for other purposes," under the form of an amendment in the Senate, to title 33 of the Revised Statutes, which provides for duties on imports, has been so modified and changed by the introduction of new provisions, containing among other things a general revision of the statutes referred to so as both to increase and reduce duties on imports, and in many instances to repeal, and in others to amend the laws imposing import duties; and

Whereas, In the opinion of this House it is believed that such changes and alterations are in conflict with the true intent and purpose of the Constitution, which requires that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; therefore,

Resolved, That if this bill shall be referred to a committee of conference, it shall be the duty of the conferees on the part of the House on said committee to consider fully the constitutional objections to said bill as amended by the Senate herein referred to, and to bring the same, together with the opinion of the House in regard thereto, before said committee of conference, and if necessary, in their opinion, after having conferred with the Senate conferees, said conferees on said committee may make report to the House in regard to the objections to said bill herein referred to.

The report of the conference committee was concurred in by the Senate, March 2d, by a vote of 32 to 31, 13 not voting; and by the House, March 3d, by a vote of 152 to 116, 23 not voting. The measure was approved by the President and became a law the same day.

The concession had been made to the reformers and to the Democratic majority of the Forty-eighth Congress elected in the fall of 1882. It cannot be said that the bill was a satis-

factory measure from any point of view, but unless something was accomplished by the Republican party prior to March 4th, when the Republican majority of the House of Representatives would give way to a Democratic majority, the party would get no credit for responding to the demands of the country for the reduction of revenue. The new law was unscientific in the extreme, and it did not take long to prove that the Tariff Commission was a failure, as was also the law framed after its recommendations. George B. Curtiss, in his *Protection and Prosperity*, refers to the law as follows:

The law was supposed to reflect the wishes of the people. The "War Tariff" and "Robber Baron" cries were repeated over and over again, till certain weak Republicans succumbed and the law of 1883 was passed, making most radical changes. It was thought by Protectionists that if concessions were made, even at a sacrifice, the Tariff agitation would cease for years to come. In fact it was a general belief that the bill of the Tariff Commission if accepted would stand for at least twenty years. Consequently the changes were made. The cotton schedule was cut down, while the duties on many forms of iron and upon agricultural products were lowered beyond the point of safety. Moreover such changes were made in the wool and woolen schedule as to affect those industries most disastrously. And here is to be seen the insidious craftiness of the Cobdenites and their American allies. In 1883 as in 1888 and 1894 the fiercest part of the battle was waged against our wool and woolen interests. England could not hope to break down our iron industries. We have long since ceased to depend upon her for those products. But in the wool industry she inserted an entering wedge, and that wedge has already made a large gap. In 1867, when the Protective Wool Tariff went into effect, we had 39,385,386 sheep. In 1884 they numbered 50,626,626, the highest number this country has ever known. But the effect of the Tariff of 1883 was such as to reduce the number to 42,599,079 in 1889. The true measure of the growth of the wool industry, however, is not so much the number of sheep as the amount of fleece. The number of pounds of wool grown in 1867 was 160,000,000. In 1884 it had increased to 300,000,000 pounds, but had fallen off again to 265,000,000 pounds in 1889. These figures most vividly illustrate the workings of the tariff in wool-production.

The student of Tariffs may well question why a Republican Congress should have passed a Tariff law so hostile to our wool industry. This was partly explained by Representative McKinley, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, April 7, 1884, as follows:

It is only proper that I should state that the last House never had an opportunity to vote upon the wool duty as a separate proposition, but was compelled to vote upon the Senate bill, as agreed to in the conference committee, as a whole. The alternative was then presented to the House of passing the bill as an entirety, which involved reductions in custom rates and large reductions of internal revenue taxes amounting to \$40,000,000 annually, or defeating it, and thus lose everything of good which the bill contained. Had the question of distributing the wool duty been presented distinct and separate, the reduction would never have taken place. This was shown when the Ways and Means Committee authorized one of its members to offer as a committee amendment the wool duties of 1867, which would have been presented and passed had the consideration of this schedule ever been reached in the House. Nor would the conference committee have failed to correct the wrong if it had not been made manifest by repeated votes in the Senate that the increase proposed upon wool would certainly have defeated the bill in the Senate.

Attempts were made by the Democrats in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses to revive Tariff legislation, but only one bill of any importance was framed and passed, namely, the Mills bill in 1888, which of course was defeated in the Senate. This bill will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

The Republican party must be charged with the law creating the Tariff Commission, and with the Tariff law of 1883 which followed. It can only be said in extenuation that the party desired then, as always, to obey the demands of the majority of the people, and to relieve the Government from the embarrassment attendant upon the operation of any fiscal measure. There is no criticism to be made upon the attempt of the Republican party to revise the Tariff laws in 1882 and 1883. It

is only charitable to say that they were not equal to the occasion. The very mistakes of the Protectionists at that time served only to strengthen the cause of their opponents; and the Free Trade propaganda throughout the country became more pronounced than ever before, while the Tariff question became for the time and for a decade following, the chief issue in American politics.

President Arthur's message at the beginning of the last session of the Forty-seventh Congress contained much concerning civil service reform. Among other things the President said :

The communication which I made to Congress at its first session in December last contained a somewhat full statement of my sentiments in relation to the principles and rules which ought to govern appointments to public service.

Referring to the various plans which had theretofore been the subject of discussion in the National Legislature (plans which in the main were modelled upon the system which obtains in Great Britain, but which lacked certain of the prominent features whereby that system is distinguished), I felt bound to intimate my doubts whether they, or any of them, would afford adequate remedy for the evils which they aimed to correct.

I declare, nevertheless, that if the proposed measures should prove acceptable to Congress they would receive the unhesitating support of the Executive.

Since these suggestions were submitted for your consideration there has been no legislation upon the subject to which they relate; but there has meanwhile been an increase in the public interest in that subject; and the people of the country, apparently without distinction of party, have in various ways and upon frequent occasions given expression to their earnest wish for prompt and definite action. In my judgment such action should no longer be postponed.

I may add that my own sense of its pressing importance has been quickened by observation of a practical phase of the matter, to which attention has more than once been called by my predecessors.

The civil list now comprises about 100,000 persons, far the larger part of whom must, under the terms of the Constitution, be selected by the President, either directly or through his own appointees.

In the early years of the administration of the Government the personal direction of appointments to the civil service may not have been an irksome task for the Executive; but now that the burden has increased fully a hundred-fold it has become greater than he ought to bear, and it necessarily diverts his time and attention from the proper discharge of other duties no less delicate and responsible, and which, in the very nature of things, can not be delegated to other hands.

In the judgment of not a few who have given study and reflection to this matter, the nation has outgrown the provisions which the Constitution has established for filling the minor offices in the public service.

But whatever may be thought of the wisdom or expediency of exchanging the fundamental law in this regard, it is certain that much relief may be afforded, not only to the President and to the heads of the departments, but to Senators and Representatives in Congress, by discreet legislation. They would be protected in a great measure by the bill now pending before the Senate, or by any other which should embody its important features, from the pressure of personal importunity and from the labor of examining conflicting claims and pretensions of candidates.

I trust that before the close of the present session some decisive action may be taken for the correction of the evils which inhere in the present methods of appointment, and I assure you of my hearty co-operation in any measures which are likely to conduce to that end.

As to the most appropriate term and tenure of the official life of the subordinate employes of the Government, it seems to be generally agreed that whatever their extent or character, the one should be definite and the other stable, and that neither should be regulated by zeal in the service of party or fidelity to the fortunes of an individual.

It matters little to the people at large what competent person is at the head of this department or that bureau, if they feel assured that the removal of one and the accession of another will not involve the retirement of honest and faithful subordinates, whose duties are purely administrative and have no legitimate connection with the triumph of any political principles or the success of any political party or faction. It is to this latter class of officers that the Senate bill, to which I have already referred, conclusively applies.

While neither that bill nor any other prominent scheme for improving the civil service concerns the higher grade of officials, who are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, I feel bound to correct a prevalent misapprehension as to the frequency with which the present Executive has displaced the incumbent of an office and appointed another in his stead.

It has been repeatedly alleged that he has in this particular signally departed from the course which has been pursued under recent administrations of the Government. The facts are as follow:

The whole number of executive appointments during the four years immediately preceding Mr. Garfield's accession to the presidency was 2,696.

Of this number, 244, or 9 per cent., involved the removal of previous incumbents.

The ratio of removals to the whole number of appointments was much the same during each of those four years.

In the first year, with 790 appointments, there were 74 removals, or 9.3 per cent.; in the second, with 917 appointments, there were 85 removals, or 8.5 per cent.; in the third, with 480 appointments, there were 48 removals, or 10 per cent.; in the fourth, with 429 appointments, there were 37 removals, or 8.6 per cent. In the four months of President Garfield's administration there were 390 appointments and 89 removals, or 22.7 per cent. Precisely the same number of removals (89) has taken place in the fourteen months which have since elapsed, but they constitute only 7.8 per cent. of the whole number of appointments (1,118) within that period, and less than 2.6 of the entire list of officials (3,459), exclusive of the army and navy, which is filled by Presidential appointment.

I declare my approval of such legislation as may be found necessary for supplementing the existing provisions of law in relation to political assessments.

On July 1st, I authorized a public announcement that employees of the Government should regard themselves as at liberty to exercise their pleasure in making or refusing to make political contributions, and that their action in that regard would in no manner affect their official status.

In this announcement I acted upon the view which I have always maintained and still maintain, that a public officer should be as absolutely free as any other citizen to give or withhold a contribution for the aid of the political party of his choice. It has, however,

been urged, and doubtless not without foundation in fact, that by solicitation of superiors and by other modes such contributions have at times been obtained from persons whose only motive for giving has been the fear of what might befall them if they refused. It goes without saying that such contributions are not voluntary, and in my judgment their collection should be prohibited by law. A bill which will effectually suppress them will receive my cordial approval.

Early in the session the matter was taken up in the Senate, where a bill which had been under consideration during the previous session was reported from the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment. After a considerable debate the bill passed the Senate on December 27, 1882, by a vote of 38 to 4, 33 not voting. In the House the bill was referred to the select Committee on Civil Service Reform and reported back without amendment by Mr. Kasson of Iowa, January 4, 1883, and after a brief debate was passed by a vote of 155 to 47, 87 not voting. On January 16th the bill was approved by the President.

It would be well, perhaps, in view of the contentions a year later of certain malcontents in the Republican party, to analyze both the vote in the Senate and House by which the bill was passed. In the Senate, the affirmative vote consisted of 23 Republicans, 14 Democrats, and one Independent, all the opposing votes being cast by Democrats. In the House the affirmative vote consisted of 101 Republicans, 49 Democrats, and 5 Independents. Of the opposing vote 39 were Democrats, 7 Republicans, and one Independent. Although the bill was introduced by a Democratic Senator,—Pendleton of Ohio, after whom it was known as the "Pendleton bill,"—yet it was passed in both the Senate and House by Republican votes and was signed by a Republican President. The bill provided for a Civil Service Commission consisting of three persons, not more than two of whom should be from the same political party, to be appointed by the President and to be confirmed by the Senate. It prohibited the political assessments and the appointments of more than two of the same family to public office. The act applied to offices of more than fifty

persons in the departments at Washington and in the customs and postal service, with certain exceptions, such as confidential clerks of heads of departments or offices, cashiers, and some other financial positions, deputy collectors, chiefs of bureaus or divisions, professional officers, officers required to be confirmed by the Senate, laborers, and workmen. It provided for local examining boards appointed by the commission, and for open and competitive examinations to be followed by an eligible list from which vacancies are to be filled from the highest names.

When the Post-Office appropriation bill was reported from the House Committee on Appropriations, there was a provision for a reduction of postage on letters from three to two cents. This matter was discussed quite at length in both Houses, and on March 2d the reduction was agreed to in a bill which contained other provisions, and the President approved the measure the following day.

The first session of the Forty-eighth Congress began on December 3, 1881. The Senate was composed of 40 Republicans and 36 Democrats, while the House contained 201 Democrats, 119 Republicans, 4 Independents, and one Greenbacker. George F. Edmunds of Vermont was chosen President *pro tempore* after Henry B. Anthony of Rhode Island had been tendered and declined the honor. In the House John G. Carlisle of Kentucky was chosen Speaker by a vote of 190 against 113 cast for J. Warren Keifer of Ohio. There had been a sharp conflict over the Democratic candidate for Speaker, because of the different views of the leaders on the Tariff question. Samuel J. Randall was a pronounced advocate of the policy of Protection, while Mr. Carlisle was known to advocate a still further revision of the Tariff, leaving only such incidental Protection as might accrue from duties arranged on a revenue basis solely. Samuel S. Cox of New York was also a candidate, his views on the Tariff being similar to those of Mr. Carlisle. Mr. Carlisle was selected at a caucus and received the united support of his party.

During this session a bill was reported from the Committee on Labor of the House to establish and maintain a Bureau of

Labor Statistics. On reaching the Senate Mr. Aldrich of Rhode Island offered by way of amendment the following substitute for the House bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be established in the Department of the Interior a bureau of labor, which shall be under the charge of a commissioner of labor, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commissioner of labor shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed, and shall receive a salary of \$3,000 a year. The commissioner shall collect information upon the subject of labor, its relations to capital, the hours of labor, and the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity. The Secretary of the Interior shall appoint a chief clerk, who shall receive a salary of \$2,000 per annum, and such other employes as may be necessary for the said bureau: *Provided*, That the total expense shall not exceed \$25,000 per annum. During the necessary absence of the commissioner, or when the office shall become vacant, the chief clerk shall perform the duties of commissioner. The commissioner shall annually make a report in writing to the Secretary of the Interior of the information collected and collated by him, and containing such recommendations as he may deem calculated to promote the efficiency of the bureau.

This substitute with but a slight change was passed by both Houses and approved by the President on June 28th. A bill establishing a Bureau of Navigation was also successful in both Houses, and was approved by the President on July 5, 1884.

A Tariff bill reported by Mr. Morrison of Illinois, from the Ways and Means Committee of the House, was debated quite as seriously as if there was a chance of its being passed. The only result was that days and weeks were spent in Tariff argument, to the end that, when the vote was finally taken upon the motion that the enacting clause be stricken out of the bill, the yeas were 159 and the nays 155, a Democratic Tariff measure being thus killed in a Democratic House. The official changes which took place in the Government during the year were as follows: On the death of the Secretary of the Treasury,

Charles J. Folger, Postmaster-General Gresham was appointed to the position, Frank Hatton being promoted to the place left vacant by Mr. Gresham. Mr. Gresham was soon afterwards appointed Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit, when Hugh McCulloch was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. H. W. Cannon of Minnesota was appointed Comptroller of the Currency in place of John J. Knox, resigned. Mr. A. A. Sargent, the American Minister at Berlin, resigned early in the year, and was succeeded by John A. Kasson of Ohio. Alphonso Taft, Minister at Vienna, was transferred to St. Petersburg, being succeeded at the Austrian capital by John M. Francis of New York. Mr. Jarvis Patten of Maine was appointed Commissioner of Navigation under the act just created. Carroll D. Wright of Massachusetts was selected as the commissioner to take charge of the new Bureau of Labor Statistics attached to the Department of the Interior.

The political conventions, campaign, and election of 1884 proved to be of deep interest and importance.

CHAPTER VI.

CONVENTIONS OF 1884—NOMINATION OF BLAINE—THE "MORAL ISSUE"—ELECTION OF CLEVELAND.

THE national committee of the Republican party had held a meeting at Washington in 1883, at which an attempt was made to change the basis of representation at the national convention, but no change was made and the old basis was readopted. A change, however, was made in the manner of choosing delegates by limiting the time for the holding of State conventions preceding the national convention to not less than thirty nor more than sixty days before the time of the national convention. By this the action of the latter could not be too early anticipated by the States. More power also was given to the minority. The date for the convention of 1884 was set for June 3d, and ex-Senator Powell Clayton of Arkansas was named as the temporary chairman of the convention.

The Eighth National Convention of the Republican party met in the Exposition Building, Chicago, Tuesday, June 3, 1884, and was called to order by Hon. Dwight M. Sabin, chairman of the national committee. At the conclusion of a short address, Mr. Sabin said:

In conclusion, gentlemen, and at the request of the National Republican Committee, I have to propose to you as temporary chairman of this convention, the Hon. Powell Clayton of Arkansas.

Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts then said:

In accordance with the vote of the majority of the committee,

and in accordance with precedent, you have presented the name of a gentleman as temporary chairman. It is the right of this convention to adopt that suggestion, or to revise it, if they deem it to be their duty to do so. With no view of introducing any personal contest, with no view of attempting to make any test vote as to the strength of candidates; but simply with a view to making a nomination for temporary chairman which shall have the best possible effect in strengthening the party throughout the country, there are many members of this convention, I believe, who feel that a nomination which would strengthen the party more could be made than that which has been presented by the national committee. I therefore have the honor to move, as it is certainly most desirable that we should recognize, as you have done, Mr. Chairman, the Republicans of the South—I therefore desire to present the name of a gentleman well known throughout the South for his conspicuous parliamentary ability, for his courage and his character. I move you, Mr. Chairman, to substitute the name of the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi.

A debate then ensued upon the question as to whether the national committee or the convention itself should choose its temporary chairman. George William Curtis of New York, answering Mr. W. W. Morrow of California, who had defended the action of the national committee, said :

This is the supreme council of the Republican party. Here at this moment, sir, American citizens professing the Republican faith are met to open the great Republican campaign of 1884, which, sir, by the grace of God and by the true hearts of the Republican party, shall be like those other campaigns to which you have so well and fitly alluded. Now, sir, what is done in the question now raised before this convention is to be the first act done by the Republican party in that great campaign; and by that act, believe me, the people of this country will judge the purpose and the spirit of the Republican party.

Unquestionably it has been the usual practice, as the gentleman from California [Mr. Morrow] has said, that the nomination of temporary chairman made by the national committee should be ratified by the convention itself. But the spirit of the nomination made to this convention is a spirit of recognition of Southern Republicans;

and when, sir, this convention, without in the slightest degree impugning the purpose or the authority of that committee, within its bounds, proceeds to exercise its own unquestionable right to be judged in the first act of the campaign by its own unquestionable and responsible action, then, sir, this convention may rightfully, and with perfect respect reconsider the nomination which has been submitted.

In the person of Mr. Lynch we offer you a representative of those people who in great part and at unspeakable cost, constitute the Republican party of the South; being in himself a man who justifies the friendship and the devotion of the Republican party and the citizens whom he represents; in himself, sir, a candidate such as this convention will naturally seek without any imputation upon any gentleman who may be submitted; in himself a candidate of whom every Republican may be justly proud, and for whom in voting, as I believe, sir, every Republican in this hall, in the depths of his own consciousness at this moment knows, responds to the expectation and the demand and the hope of the great Republican masses of the country, whose eyes are at this moment fixed upon this hall, and who are waiting to hear that the first act of the Republican Convention of 1884 shall be an act which every one of us will glory to defend upon the stump, and to which the Republican party of the country will respond with a shout of victory.

A short discussion followed, among others Theodore Roosevelt of New York speaking as follows:

I trust that the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] will be adopted, and that we shall select as chairman of this convention that representative Republican, Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, it has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stewart], that it is without precedent to reverse the action of the national committee. Who has not known numerous instances where the action of a State committee has been reversed by the State convention? Not one of us but has known such instances. Now there are, as I understand it, but two delegates to this convention who have seats on the national committee; and I hold it to be derogatory to our honor, to our capacity for self-government, to say that we must accept the nomination of a presiding officer by another

body; and that our hands are tied, and we dare not reverse its action.

Now, one word more. I trust that the vote will be taken by individual members, and not by States. Let each man stand accountable to those whom he represents for his vote. Let no man be able to shelter himself behind the shield of his State. What we say is, that one of the cardinal doctrines of the American political government is the accountability of each man to his people; and let each man stand up here and cast his vote, and then go home and abide by what he has done.

It is now, Mr. Chairman, less than a quarter of a century since, in this city, the great Republican party for the first time organized for victory, and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, who broke the fetters of the slave and rent them asunder forever. It is a fitting thing for us to choose to preside over this convention one of that race whose right to sit within these walls is due to the blood and the treasure so lavishly spent by the founders of the Republican party. And it is but a further vindication of the principles for which the Republican party so long struggled. I trust that the Hon. Mr. Lynch will be elected temporary chairman of this convention.

After a further discussion the call of the roll resulted as follows: In favor of Mr. Lynch, 424; in favor of Mr. Clayton, 384. General Clayton then moved to make the election of Mr. Lynch unanimous, which was done.¹ Mr. Lynch, on taking the chair, addressed the convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I feel that I ought not to say that I thank you for the distinguished honor which you have conferred upon me, for I do not. Nevertheless, from a standpoint that no patriot should fail to respond to his country's call, and that no loyal member of his party should fail to comply with the demands of his party, I yield with reluctance to your decision, and assume the duties of the position to which you have assigned me. Every member of this convention who approached me upon this subject within the last few hours, knows that this position was neither

¹ "Gath thinks that Clayton's ancestry would 'put to the blush,' Mr. Lodge's. Ignorant Gath!—there is no further-going ancestry in America than that of Henry Cabot Lodge."—Springfield *Republican*, Thursday, June 5, 1884.

expected nor desired by me. If, therefore, there is any such thing as a man having honors thrust upon him, you have an exemplification of it in this instance.

I wish to say, gentlemen, that I came to this convention, not so much for the purpose of securing the defeat of any man, or the success of any man, as for the purpose of contributing to the extent of my vote and my influence to make Republican success in November next an assured fact. I hope and believe that the assembled wisdom of the Republican party of this Nation, through its chosen representatives in this hall, will so shape our policy, and will present such candidates before the American people, as will make that victory beyond a shadow of a doubt.

I wish to say, so far as the different candidates for the Presidential nomination are concerned, that I do not wish any gentleman to feel that my election by your votes is indicative of anything relative to the preference of one candidate for another. I am prepared, and I hope that every member of this convention is prepared, to return to his home with an unmistakable determination to give the candidates of this convention a loyal and hearty support, whoever they may be.

Gentlemen of the convention, I am satisfied in my own mind that when we go before the people of this country our action will be ratified, because the great part of the American people will never consent for any political party to gain the ascendancy in this government, whose chief reliance for that support is a fraudulent ballot and violence at the polls. I am satisfied that the people of this country are too loyal ever to allow a man to be inaugurated President of the United States, whose title to the position may be brought forth in fraud, and whose garments may be saturated with the innocent blood of hundreds of his countrymen. I am satisfied that the American people will ratify our action, because they will never consent to a revenue system in this government, otherwise than that which will not only raise the necessary revenue for its support, but will also be sufficient to protect every American citizen in his occupation.

Gentlemen, not for myself, but in obedience to custom, I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me.

Titus Sheard of New York and Joseph W. Lee of Pennsylvania, were then elected temporary secretaries. Committees

on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, and Resolutions were named, after which a recess was taken until 11 o'clock A.M., June 4th.

The New York *Tribune*, Wednesday, June 4th, had the following:

DARK HORSES CONFERRING TOGETHER

EACH ONE WANTS ALL THE OTHERS TO RETIRE—NO RESULT
REACHED

(By telegraph to the *Tribune*.)

CHICAGO, June 3. The Edmunds leaders held a conference in the rooms of George William Curtis at the Grand Pacific Hotel to-night. The conference was not limited to Edmunds delegates, but was purposely widened so as to include the representatives of other candidates than Arthur and Blaine. “We intended,” said General Francis C. Barlow, of New York, “to get all the dark horses together and wear out Blaine and Arthur. We are confident that Arthur is beaten but we fear Blaine. He has too much strength, as was shown in the convention to-day, not to be dangerous.”

In accordance with this invitation of the Edmunds men, Augustus Brandagee, the representative of General Hawley, of Connecticut, Judge Foraker, the representative of Senator Sherman, of Ohio, and ex-Congressman Peelle, of Indiana, as a representative of Senator Harrison, of Indiana, met in Mr. Curtis's room. There was also present a Wisconsin delegate to represent Governor Fairchild, of that State. It will be perceived that several of the dark horses were represented. There were present for the Edmunds men ex-Governor Smith, of Vermont; Theodore Roosevelt, Edwin Packard, John I. Gilbert, Andrew D. White, Carl Schurz, James W. Wadsworth, Horace White, Frederick W. Holls, of New York; Senator Hoar, and Edward L. Pierce, of Massachusetts. There was also present Judge Hanna, of Ohio. A free interchange of views followed.

Theodore Roosevelt, describing the meeting afterward, said: “We find that each one of the dark horses wants all the other candidates to retire in his favor.” The same description was given of the meeting by others who attended it. It was found impossible to

unite on any candidate. Indeed the Edmunds supporters said that they thought it would not be good policy to combine the votes of the delegates backing Edmunds, Hawley, Harrison or Sherman until later in the convention.

On the second day a resolution was sent to the secretary's desk by S. W. Hawkins of Tennessee, and upon the chairman instructing the secretary to read the resolution, he did so as follows:

Resolved, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not willing to so agree.

Then occurred the following spirited remarks:

Mr. Hawkins. I move that the rules be suspended, and that this resolution be passed. I ask for a vote by States upon that.

Mr. Pierce, of Massachusetts. I trust that that resolution will not pass. I have come to this convention, as I believe every member has come, expecting in good faith to support its nominee, and believing that this convention will nominate no man who will not command the universal support of the members of this convention, and of the Republican party of the United States. That resolution has had in the past a bad paternity—brought here never when Lincoln was nominated; brought here only by a delegate from New York—Mr. Conkling, the late Mr. Conkling. I trust this convention will not bind its conscience by a mere perfunctory pledge like that.

Mr. F. C. Winkler, of Wisconsin. I take it that our presence here is an assertion in itself on the part of every one of us that we propose to support the nominee of the convention; and that it needs no resolution in order to enforce that assertion; and it is for that reason that I am opposed to adopting any resolution upon that subject.

Mr. Hawkins. In offering that resolution, I do it in good faith, and I trust that there is no delegate here that is not willing and ready to subscribe to that resolution; and if there be here a delegate who is not willing and ready to subscribe to that resolution; if there

be here a delegate who is not willing to support the nominee of this convention, he surely ought not to participate in the deliberations of this convention, I don't care where he comes from. I know of no harm that can come to a man who is here for the purpose of participating in making this nomination—I know of no harm that can come to him for indorsing that resolution and being willing to stand by the nominee of this convention. I have heard whispers in the air as to the course of some gentlemen. I don't believe that they are true; but for the purpose of showing to the world that the Republican party stands here to-day, united and determined to support the nominee of this convention, I introduced that resolution and moved its adoption.

Mr. George A. Knight of California. I hope that that resolution will pass. No honest Republican, no man having the good of the great Republican party at heart, should dare to stand on the floor of this convention and vote down that resolution. There are already whisperings in the air, of men high in the Republican party, or that once stood high in the Republican party, openly and avowedly declaring that they will not support one man if he be nominated by this convention—a convention of the most intelligent men of this Nation. That kind of men we want to know, and the sooner they are out of the Republican party the better for the party.

Gentlemen of the convention, no more enthusiastic people are under the shadow of the American flag than those of the section that I come from. No more enthusiastic people for their candidate can be found in this convention; but if he should not be the choice, I believe we would be false to every principle of the Republican party, we would be false to the constituency which we represent, we would be false to ourselves, if we did not abide by the nominee of this party of intelligence. Tell me one reason that can be urged why the members of this convention, selected alone for their intelligence, their patriotism and their zeal in behalf of the Republican party, should not support the nominee of this convention. None can be given.

Therefore, gentlemen of the convention, I hope, and I insist for the section of the country that we come from, that this resolution will be adopted; and that the nominee of this convention, whoever he may be, will have the hearty support and the votes of the convention; and let all those, be they editors of newspapers or conducting great periodical journals, who refuse to support the nominee, let

them be branded, that they not only come here and violate the implied faith that we put in them, but the direct and honest convictions of this convention, expressed by a direct vote on the subject.

George William Curtis then arose, saying, "Mr. Chairman," when loud calls arose from all parts of the house, "Platform! Platform!" Mr. Curtis shook his head, and retaining his position on the floor said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: A Republican and a freeman I came into this convention; by the grace of God, a Republican and a freeman will I go out of this convention. Twenty-four years ago I was here in Chicago; twenty-four years ago I took part with the men of this country who nominated the man who bears the most illustrious name in the Republican party, and the brightest ray in whose halo of glory and immortality is that he was the great emancipator. In that convention, sir, a resolution was offered in amendment of the platform. It introduced into that platform certain words from the Declaration of Independence. That amendment was voted down in that convention, and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio rose from his seat and was passing out of the convention. As he went he passed by my chair, and I reached out my hand—well-nigh a boy and unknown to him—I said, "Sir, where are you going?" He said to me, "Young man, I am going out of this convention, for I find there is no place in a Republican convention for an original anti-Slavery man like me." Well, gentlemen, after this he stopped and again took his seat, and before the convention concluded, the Republican party declared that no word, no deed, no sign should ever be made in a Republican convention that in the slightest degree reflected upon the honor or the loyalty of the men who took part in that convention, or upon their adhesion to liberty. The gentleman who was last upon the floor dared any man upon this floor to vote against the resolution. I say to him in reply that the presentation of such a resolution in such a convention as this is a stigma, an insult to every man who sits here. This question is not a new question. Precisely the same motion was brought up at the last convention, and a man from West Virginia—I honor his name—that man said, in the face of the roaring galleries, and in the face of all dissent—Mr. Campbell of West Virginia—said, "I am a Republican who carries his sovereignty under his own hat!" Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr.

Campbell's position in that convention formed the wise reflection, the afterthought of the Republican convention of 1880, under the lead of that great, immortal leader whose face fronted us there, James A. Garfield of Ohio ; under the lead of Garfield—I remind my friend from California—the convention induced the gentleman who presented the resolution to withdraw it from the consideration of the convention.

Now, sir, in the light of the character of the Republican party, in the light of the action of the last Republican convention, the first convention which I have known in which such a pledge was required of candidates or the members, I ask this convention—mindful of all that hangs upon the wisdom, the moderation, the tolerance, the patriotism of our action,—I beg this convention to remember Lincoln, to remember Garfield, to remember the very vital principles of the Republican party, and assume that every man here is an honest and honorable man; and vote down this resolution, which should never have appeared in a Republican convention, as unworthy to be ratified by this concourse of free men that I see before me."

The following is taken from the official proceedings of the convention :

Mr. Francis B. Posey, of Indiana. Mr. Chairman —

The Chairman. For or against the resolution? The Chair will state that under the rules of the convention —

Mr. Posey. Against the resolution.

The Chairman. The rules of the House of Representatives have been adopted for the government, as far as applicable, of this convention. Under the rules of the House, or, at any rate, under its usage and custom, speeches are allowed to be made alternately for and against a proposition. That is why the Chair asked which side the gentleman was upon.

Mr. Posey. I desire to say a few words against the resolution.

The Chairman. Then the Chair would be obliged to recognize somebody who would like to speak on the other side, if any gentleman desires.

Mr. Hawkins. Please have the resolution read again.

The Chairman. The Secretary will again read the resolution.

The secretary read as follows :

Resolved, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be ; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not willing to so agree.

Mr. Joseph N. Dolph, of Oregon. I move to lay the resolution on the table. I think it is ill-timed and injudicious.

The motion was seconded from several parts of the house.

Mr. Hawkins, of Tennessee. Before the vote on that resolution shall be taken I wish to withdraw it ; it was voted for in the last convention by Chester A. Arthur and James A. Garfield. If this convention does not want to be pledged to it, I withdraw it.

The Chairman. The resolution is withdrawn.

Mr. George B. Williams of Indiana, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, then presented the name of General John B. Henderson of Missouri for permanent president, and Hon. Charles W. Clisbee of Michigan, for secretary, with a list of vice-presidents and assistant secretaries from each State and Territory. The report was adopted, and on taking the chair the president addressed the convention as follows :

Gentlemen of the Convention: We have assembled on this occasion to survey the past history of the party, to rejoice as we may because of the good it has done; to correct its errors, if errors there be; to discover, if possible the wants of the present, and with patriotic firmness provide for the future.

Gentlemen, our past history is the Union preserved, slavery abolished, and its former victims equally and honorably by our sides in this convention; the public faith maintained; unbounded credit at home and abroad; a currency convertible into coin, and the pulses of industry throbbing with renewed health and vigor in every section of a prosperous and peaceful country. These are the fruits of triumphs over adverse policies, gained in the military and civil conflicts of the last twenty-four years. Out of these conflicts has come a race of heroes and statesmen challenging confidence and love at home and respect and admiration abroad.

And when we now come to select a standard-bearer for the approaching contest, our embarrassment is not in the want but in the multiplicity of Presidential material. New York has her true

and tried statesman, upon whose administration the fierce and even unfriendly light of public scrutiny has been turned, and the universal verdict is: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Vermont has her great statesman, whose mind is as clear as the crystal springs of his native State, and whose virtue is as firm as its granite hills. Ohio can come with a name whose history is but the history of the Republican party. Illinois can come with a man who never failed in the discharge of public duty, whether in the council chamber or upon the field of battle. Maine has her favorite, whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends, and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of mankind. Connecticut and Indiana also come with names scarcely less illustrious than any of these.

And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, if because of personal disagreements amongst us, or the emergencies of the occasion, another name is sought, there yet remains that grand old hero of Kenesaw Mountain and Atlanta. When patriotism calls, he cannot, if he would, be silent; but grasping that banner, to him so dear, which he has already borne in triumph upon many a bloody field, he would march to a civic victory no less renowned than those of war.

Gentlemen, I thank you for this distinguished mark of your confidence, and will discharge the duties imposed at least with impartiality.

On the third day, after the reports of the Committee on Credentials and Rules were adopted, and a discussion was concluded on the method of representation in the national convention, William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions presented the following report:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1884.

1. The Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent; the safeguard of liberty,

and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government. And it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

2. We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and in peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

3. In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to, and will receive, the hearty approval of every good citizen.

4. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborers, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

5. Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

6. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

7. We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

8. We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

9. The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

10. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

11. We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education, by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection of a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

12. The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

13. Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension

of the reformed system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

14. The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

15. The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability, and not with the date of the application.

16. The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs,—the policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the western hemisphere.

17. We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce. We call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

18. That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona-fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

19. That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

20. The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederacy of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained, and which should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

21. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

22. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The new national committee was then formed, Mr. B. F. Jones of Pennsylvania being chosen as chairman, and Samuel Fessenden of Connecticut, secretary. The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock P.M., when nominations for a candidate for President were made as follows:

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Augustus Brandagee of that State.

John A. Logan of Illinois, by Shelby M. Cullom of that State.

James G. Blaine of Maine, by William H. West of Ohio.

Chester A. Arthur of New York, by Martin I. Townsend of that State.

John Sherman of Ohio, by Joseph B. Foraker of that State.
George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by John D. Long of
Massachusetts.

The speech of Judge West nominating Mr. Blaine was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: As a delegate in the Chicago convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four-and-twenty years of the grandest history in the annals of recorded time have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. Skies have lowered, and reverses have threatened. Our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath a Nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. To it are stretched the imploring hands of ten million of political bondmen of the South; while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding us hail and God-speed.

In six campaigns has that symbol of union, of freedom, of humanity, and of progress, been borne in triumph—sometimes by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier statesman at whose untimely taking-off a Nation swelled the funeral cry and wept above great Garfield's grave. Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that great chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veteran; and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise.

Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity, which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contention; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past.

The odds of the solid South are against us. Not an electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom; from the mine, the workshop, and the desk; from the hut of the trapper on snowy Sierra, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn. Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand, civic hero, whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory?

In this contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as candidate shall we intrust the bearing of our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to—and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do—abate the tithe of a hair from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old Black Eagle of Illinois. And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation, by their votes, elevated him to the highest office, second in dignity to the office of the President himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. A man who was good enough for these great Senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of first Premier of the Republic, is good enough for the support of a plain, flesh-and-blood God's people for President.

Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send a great apostle to the country labeled "the doctors' candidate," "the lawyers' candidate," "the Wall street candidate," and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Gentlemen, he must be a representative of American manhood—a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved from mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan Chinese. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute

political as well as personal emancipation and disenthralment of mankind; a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, dignity and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that can not regard with indifference a despotism which, under the flaunting lie of *Sic semper tyrannis*, annihilates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of democracy—a Republicanism which, while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no prince, State, potentate or sovereignty on earth—as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted in your convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Gentlemen of the convention, it has been said that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the Presidency with or without the State of New York—that will carry the legislatures of the several States, and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide sufficient Congressional Districts to redeem the House of Representatives, and restore it to the Republican party. Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man to accomplish this, is the Ajax Telamon of our party, who made, and whose life is, a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor, or freedom needed protection, or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the forefront of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of the September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is

sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William Cassius Goodloe of Kentucky, Thomas C. Platt of New York, and Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania followed with seconding speeches. George William Curtis, in seconding the nomination of Mr. Edmunds, spoke as follows:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen: I shall not repeat to you the splendid story of the Republican party; a story that we never tire of telling; and that our children will never tire of hearing; a story which is written upon the heart of every American citizen, because it recounts greater services for liberty, for the country, for mankind, than those of any party in any other nation, at any other period of time.

And what is the secret of this unparalleled history? It is simply that the Republican party has been always the party of the best instincts, of the highest desires, of the American people. . This is its special glory. It has represented the American instinct of nationality, American patriotism, and American devotion to liberty.

Now, fellow-citizens, we approach a new contest, and we shall be tried by the candidate whom we submit to the people. I say, we shall be tried by the candidate that we present. Do not forget that upon the man of our choice the eyes of the country will turn to see what it is that the Republican party honors and respects. It will turn to see what are the objects, what is the spirit, and what shall be the method of continued Republican administration. And, therefore, our candidate must be in himself a resplendent manifesto of Republican principle, Republican character, and Republican purpose, a candidate who is in himself a triumphant victory.

We, gentlemen, have been long in power, and prolonged power breeds, as we have learned to our cost in the State of New York, and as you have learned, therefore, to your cost—prolonged power breeds dissensions within the party. The times are hard; and every man who feels poor, at once blames the administration of the government. The old issues are largely settled; and new men with new views are arising all around us; and vast questions, to which no man can be blind, solicit our present attention and sympathy.

This is the state of the country; this is the state of the party; and we are confronted with the Democratic party, very hungry, and, as you may well believe, very thirsty; a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct National policy which it dares to present to the country; a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils.

Nevertheless, fellow-Republicans, we have learned, and many of you whom our hearts salute, have learned upon fields more peaceful than this, that our foe is not a foe to be despised. He will feel our lines to find our weakest point. He will search the work of this convention with the electric light. He will try us by our candidate. And therefore the man to whom we commit the banner—the banner that Abraham Lincoln bore—must be, like Abraham Lincoln, a knight indeed; and like the old knight, a “knight without fear and without reproach.” He must be a statesman, identified with every measure of the great Republican past, and a pioneer in every measure of its future of reform; and in himself the pledge that the party will not only put its face forward, but will set its foot forward; and a pledge, also, that that mighty foot will trample and crush and utterly destroy whatever disgraces the public service, whatever defiles the Republican name, whatever defeats the just expectation of the country and of the Republican party.

He must be also, and I do but echo the words of the distinguished orator who preceded me—he must also be an unswerving Republican; a man, a statesman, not strong in an unrecorded obscurity, but walking for many a year conspicuous, commanding, upon the heights of eminent places, in the full sunlight of unquestioned and unquestionable purity of personal and of public conduct—a statesman, as all our hearts assure us, the most eminent, the one prominent Republican, about whom Republicans have never differed; and for whom every Republican, every Democrat, every Independent voter, every American citizen, who under any circumstances whatever would support the Republican ticket, would gladly and proudly vote. This is the man, fellow-Republicans, whom the situation of the country, whom the condition of the party, and whom our knowledge of the combat upon which we enter, designate as the man, the fitting man—in my judgment, the most fitting man—to be our leader.

Mr. President, in the beginning of the Revolution, a Green Mountain boy crossed Lake Champlain; and, followed by his brave

comrades, climbed the sheer precipice, and in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Continental Congress, demanded and received the surrender of British Ticonderoga. There is another Green Mountain boy; let us make him our captain in the great contest upon which we enter; make him our captain of the host, the vast host of loyal followers, as indeed, followers we shall be, doubtless, of any man who bears the banner of the Republican party; and in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Republican party, he will demand and receive the surrender of the Democratic party.

His name is in your hearts before it leaves my lips. Incorruptible, unassailable, a Republican whom every Republican trusts to the utmost; whom every Democrat respects with all his heart; a candidate who will make every Republican State surer, every Democratic State uneasy, and every doubtful State Republican, and who will awaken all the old conquering Republican enthusiasm of principle and character. This is the candidate whose name has been presented to us by the old Bay State; and the candidate whose nomination on behalf of every American who believes that political honesty is the best political policy, I proudly second, in repeating the name of George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.

The convention then adjourned till Friday, June 6th, at eleven o'clock, when after a short business session, the roll call for the first ballot to nominate a candidate for President of the United States was proceeded with. The four ballots taken resulted as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th
James G. Blaine, Maine	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur, New York	278	276	274	207
George F. Edmunds, Vermont	93	85	69	41
John A. Logan, Illinois	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman, Ohio	30	28	25	
Joseph R. Hawley, Connecticut	13	13	13	15
Robert T. Lincoln, Illinois	4	4	8	2
William T. Sherman, Missouri	2	2	2	

The roll-call of New York State on the fourth ballot was read by the secretary as follows:

For Arthur—S. B. Dutcher, W. H. Beard, M. N. Day, C. D. Rhinehart, G. C. Bennett, J. J. O'Brien, J. H. Brady, J. D. Lawson, C. N. Taintor, R. G. McCord, John Collins, Geo. Starr (alternate), Geo. Hillard, M. Cregan, B. Biglin, J. R. Lydecker, Chas. Whitlock (alternate), J. L. Perley (alternate), F. Raymond, J. A. Eagleston, B. P. Carpenter, H. Fish, Jr., W. E. Kisselburgh (alternate), H. G. Burleigh, Geo. Campbell ($\frac{1}{2}$), A. S. Draper (alternate) ($\frac{1}{2}$), Geo. Chahoon, J. D. Warren, J. Jewett, Geo. Urban, Jr., Lee R. Sanborn—30.

For Blaine—A. G. McCook, W. H. Robertson, J. W. Husted, D. J. Blauvelt, T. Cornell, D. Ballantine, J. Lamb ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. A. Houck ($\frac{1}{2}$), Geo. West, J. Kellogg, L. W. Russell, G. A. Bagley, W. E. Scripture, R. J. Richardson (alternate), H. Krum, Titus Sheard, C. E. Smith, James Frazel (alternate), T. C. Platt, M. De Lano, D. D. Osborne, T. G. Yeomans, J. W. Dwight, W. L. Smith, G. R. Cornwell, S. T. Hayt, L. Burritt, E. L. Pitts, N. M. Allen, F. S. Smith—29.

For Edmunds—T. Roosevelt, A. D. White, J. I. Gilbert, E. Packard, G. W. Curtis, J. M. Crane, G. L. Pease, B. B. Odell, J. W. Wadsworth—9.

For Hawley—E. H. Hobbs—1.

For Lincoln—H. H. Warner—1.

The announcement of the final vote caused the wildest demonstration, which lasted for several minutes. The proceedings of the convention then continued as follows:

The President. James G. Blaine, of Maine, having received the votes of a majority of all the delegates elected to this convention, the question now before the convention is, Shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous? On that motion the Chair recognizes Mr. Burleigh, of New York.

Mr. Burleigh, of New York. Mr. President: In behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to make the nomination of James G. Blaine unanimous; and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for Northern New York, 20,000 Republican majority. And I promise you that we will do all we can for the ticket and the nominee; and we will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. It elected James A. Garfield, and it will elect James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Mr. Dwight M. Sabin, of Minnesota. Four years ago, in this

hall, and as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, I was opposed to Chester A. Arthur and to the elements with which he then associated. Since then, he has been called, under the most trying circumstances, to fill the first place in the gift of the people of this country. So well, so nobly, has he filled that trust; so happily has he disappointed not only those who were his opponents, but his friends: so fully has he filled the position of the gentleman that he is—of a scholar and of a gentleman possessed of that great, good common sense which has made his administration a great and pronounced success—that he has grown upon me, until to-day I honor and revere Chester A. Arthur.

As a friend of his I no less honor and revere that prince of gentlemen, that scholar, that gifted statesman, James G. Blaine. And it affords me the greatest pleasure to second the motion to make his nomination unanimous, and with the prediction that his name, before this country in November, will produce the same spontaneous enthusiasm which will make him President of the United States the 4th of March next.

Mr. P. B. Plumb, of Kansas. This convention has discharged one of its most important trusts, and is now, notwithstanding the length of time it has been in session and the exciting scenes through which it has passed, in thorough good humor, and I believe ready to go on and conclude the business which brought us here.

Mr. Winston. I move that this convention do now take a recess to eight o'clock this evening.

The President. The question is upon making the nomination unanimous.

A Delegate. I call for the regular order.

Mr. Plumb. Mr. President, before proceeding to this I desire also, in connection with the Senator from Minnesota, and responding to the sentiment which pervades this entire convention, to second the motion that this nomination be made unanimous, and I hope there will not be a dissenting voice in all this vast assemblage.

The Secretary. I have been requested to read to the convention the following telegraphic despatch:

The President has sent the following despatch to Mr. Blaine :

To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me. As the candidate of the Republican party you will have my earnest and cordial support.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The announcement was received with applause.

The President. The motion is, Shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous?

The motion was carried.¹

At the evening session the name of John A. Logan was presented for candidate for Vice-President by Preston B. Plumb of Kansas. The nomination was seconded by several delegates, and on a formal ballot Mr. Logan received 733 votes, W. Q. Gresham, 6; and J. B. Foraker, 1. The nomination of Mr. Logan was then made unanimous.

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago on July 8th, Richard D. Hubbard of Texas being selected as temporary chairman. Besides the two-thirds rule, a rule was adopted which provided that a State should not change its vote once given until the roll-call should be completed, rendering the unit rule practically in force.

On the second day William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, was made permanent president of the convention. After the nominating speeches were made the platform was reported and adopted. Besides reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, it laid great emphasis on the necessity of "reform," and made the usual pledges well known to Democratic platforms. General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts endeav-

¹ As a basis for discussion in a subsequent chapter, the author wishes to emphasize the fact that the nomination of Mr. Blaine was made unanimous. The proceedings given above are taken from the *Official Proceedings of the Republican National Conventions* as compiled by Charles W. Johnson, the secretary of the Republican National Convention of 1900, and reprinted by authority of the Republican National Convention of that year. The book, entitled *All the Republican National Conventions*, compiled and edited by Henry H. Smith, says: "The nomination was then made unanimous." Stanwood's *History of the Presidency* says of the balloting: "Four votes only were required to effect the nomination of Mr. Blaine, which was then made unanimous." A. K. McClure, in his *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, says: "The nomination of Blaine was made unanimous with great enthusiasm." Many newspapers also reported the same, not a single one to the contrary. With this testimony it must be concluded that no delegate to the convention recorded a vote against the making of the nomination of Mr. Blaine unanimous, and even though any delegate may have refrained from voting in the affirmative upon the motion, by every law of ethics, he supported by his silence the object of the motion.

ored in vain to substitute a series of resolutions. In 1882 General Butler, who had a short time before left the Republican party, was elected Governor of Massachusetts as a Democrat, and was sent as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1884. Two ballots were necessary to nominate a candidate for President of the United States. When the second roll-call was completed, Grover Cleveland of New York lacked seventy-two votes of the necessary two thirds, but enough changes were made to effect his nomination. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was unanimously nominated for Vice-President. When the motion to make the nomination of Cleveland unanimous came up, various "noes" were heard; but the nomination of Hendricks was made with the utmost enthusiasm.

Besides the conventions of the Democrats and Republicans various smaller gatherings made nominations.

On May 14th, at Chicago, was held the first national convention of the Anti-Monopoly party. The temporary chairman was Alson J. Streeter, while the permanent president of the convention was John F. Henry. General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was nominated as candidate for President of the United States on the first vote. The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President was left with the national committee, who subsequently adopted the candidate of the National or Greenback party, General Alanson M. West of Mississippi. The National or Greenback party held its convention on the 28th of May at Indianapolis. The temporary chairman was John Tyler of Florida, General James B. Weaver of Iowa being the permanent president. General Butler was nominated for President of the United States and General Alanson M. West for Vice-President.

The Prohibitionists held two conventions,—the first at Chicago, June 19th, under the name of the American Prohibition National Convention. John L. Barlow of Connecticut presided. Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas was nominated for President of the United States, and John A. Conant for Vice-President. The second convention of the Prohibitionists, or, as they called themselves, the Regular National Prohibition party, was held at Pittsburg, July 23d. William Daniel of

Maryland was chosen as temporary chairman, and Samuel Dickie of Michigan was selected as permanent president of the convention. John P. St. John of Kansas was nominated unanimously as the candidate for President of the United States, and William Daniel of Maryland was nominated, also unanimously, for Vice-President.

The presidential campaign of 1884 was unique in the extreme. It was the most bitter personal contest in our history. A word should be given explaining Mr. Cleveland's prominence as a presidential candidate, and his individuality in the campaign. He had come from good stock, his father being a graduate of Yale and a Presbyterian minister, and his mother being the daughter of a Baltimore merchant of Irish birth. Grover Cleveland was born at the parsonage at Caldwell, New Jersey, which had first been occupied by the Rev. Stephen Grover, after whom the future President was named, although the first name had been early dropped and he had been known from childhood simply as Grover Cleveland. His career was uneventful till he was appointed Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, New York, January 1, 1863, which office he held for three years. At this time two of his brothers were in the army, and as he was the sole support of his mother and sisters he did not himself enlist, but borrowed money to send a substitute. He attained to more than average rank as a lawyer, and in 1881 was nominated as the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Buffalo; and although the Republican State ticket was carried in Buffalo by an average majority of over 1600, Mr. Cleveland was elected by a majority of 3530. During his term of office as Mayor he used the veto power freely and gained no little praise as an economical and honest mayor.

At the Democratic State Convention held at Syracuse, September 22, 1882, Mr. Cleveland was nominated for Governor. Three days previously, the Republicans, at their convention held at Saratoga, had nominated Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the Treasury. Although Mr. Folger's nomination had been made unanimous in the convention, yet the feeling in the party between the two factions was unquestionably intensified by the result. It was felt by Governor Cornell's

friends that an unfair advantage had been taken of them by the administration, and by means of a forged proxy which figured largely in the organization of the convention. The dissatisfaction in the Republican party became more widespread as the State campaign went on; while the Democrats, taking advantage of the situation that was only too clear, made a great effort to bring out their entire and now united vote. The result was that Cleveland's plurality over Folger was 192,854. The plurality of David B. Hill, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, was, however, 198,781, so that the great victory must not be given entirely to Mr. Cleveland. The plurality of William C. Ruger over Charles Andrews, the Democratic and Republican candidates for Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, was 73,400, showing that thousands of Republicans must have voted for the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Cleveland was clearly the man of the hour, but his victory over Mr. Folger was not a personal one so much as a victory of principle.

Grover Cleveland early became a candidate for the nomination for President in 1884. During his administration as Governor of New York State, through 1883 and the first half of 1884, nothing occurred to put him out of the running. On the contrary, he grew in favor with the better class of Democrats and the so-called Independents.

After the nomination of Mr. Blaine at Chicago, the first question asked was, "What will George William Curtis and his followers do?" The New York *Tribune* of June 9, 1884, the morning after the adjournment of the Republican convention, had the following item:

WASHINGTON, June 8.—Among the Republican politicians who arrived in Washington to-night from Chicago were Senators Aldrich, Plumb, Platt, Miller (of California), Blair and Conger, ex-Senator Chaffee, Representatives William Walter Phelps, Burleigh, Horr, Adams, and Dunham, and General Anson G. McCook. George William Curtis travelled on the same train from Chicago to Harrisburg. As soon as the passengers had settled themselves for the journey, a discussion of the work of the national convention and the prospects of Republican success next fall was begun. After

separate conversations with Mr. Curtis, both Mr. Phelps and Mr. Horr expressed the belief that he will support Blaine and Logan. To Mr. Phelps he said that, apart from the defeat of his own candidate, he regarded the work of the convention with satisfaction, that it had acted with fairness and deliberation, and that the treatment of himself and his friends had been courteous and all they could desire. Mr. Curtis left the impression that his sense of duty as a patriotic citizen will constrain him to support the candidate of the Republican party against any man that the Democratic party may nominate. It is understood Mr. Curtis will not countenance the nomination of a third ticket by the Independent Republicans, a proceeding which might possibly result in the success of the Democratic party and its candidate, whose election would be a menace to the interests of the country.

But either Mr. Phelps and Mr. Horr were mistaken, or Mr. Curtis suddenly changed his mind.

On June 17th a score or more of Boston Independents arrived in New York and put up at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Most of the day was spent in conference. At three o'clock a formal meeting was held, at which Mr. Henry L. Pierce acted as chairman and Moorfield Storey as secretary. Carl Schurz, R. R. Bowker, and George Haven Putnam, of New York, were present. The *New York Tribune* of the next day had the following to say concerning the final meeting held at night:

The "consultation," as the Independents finally decided to call their meeting, which took place in the evening, was held at the home of Joseph Henry Harper, No. 269 Madison Ave. The first arrival was George Haven Putnam accompanied by a friend. Then Carl Schurz came walking up Madison Ave., with Professor A. Jacobi. Following him were ex-Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain of South Carolina, and Colonel T. W. Higginson. Most of the Bostonians came in cabs, and had satchels and overcoats with them so that they might take the train as soon as the conference should conclude. About 8.15, George William Curtis and General Francis C. Barlow walked over from the Union League, and soon after, the meeting was called to order. There were then within Mr. Harper's spacious parlors eighty-seven persons. Of these twenty-six were from Boston. The following were among those present representing New York and Brooklyn:

George William Curtis, Charles Collins, D. H. Chamberlain, C. T. Christensen, Ethan Allen Doty, Dr. Richard H. Derby, Alexander Forman, S. W. Grierson, George W. Green, Joseph W. Harper, jr., J. Henry Harper, Henry Holt, George Hill, Dr. A. Jacobi, E. L. Burlingame, General Francis C. Barlow, Clarence W. Bowen, Legrand Lockwood, Grosvenor Lowery, Charles P. Miller, Stephen P. Nash, Thomas Nast, George Haven Putnam, Carl Schurz, Jackson S. Schultz, and F. W. Whitridge. From Philadelphia there were Joseph Parish, Francis R. Wood, Charles Richardson, Frank B. Reeves and F. R. Cope.

It was nearly 11 o'clock when the meeting broke up, and the secretary read a report of the proceedings from which this synopsis is made:

WHAT TOOK PLACE AT THE MEETING.

The meeting was called to order by Stephen P. Nash, who proposed George William Curtis for chairman. Mr. Curtis stated the object of the meeting to be to get an impression of sentiment from gentlemen other than those in the city of New York who met and declared their sentiments directly after the convention in Chicago. R. R. Bowker moved that George Walton Green of New York, and S. W. Grierson of Brooklyn, be elected secretaries, which was done. The following resolutions were then offered by Carl Schurz:

Whereas, We are met in conference as Republicans and Independents to take action in opposition to the nomination of James G. Blaine for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President, of the United States, and

Whereas, These candidates were named in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the Nation, and represent political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed.

Resolved, That it is our conviction that the country will be better served by opposing these nominations than by supporting them.

Resolved, That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic party; they have the proper men and we hope they will put them before the people for election.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five members be appointed whose duty it shall be, in co-operation with similar committees, appointed or to be appointed elsewhere, to take without delay suitable measures for rallying and organizing the Republicans and Independents dissatisfied with the nomination of Blaine and Logan, with a view of holding, at the earliest day possible, a general representative conference for the purpose of concerting such further steps as may be found advisable for the expression and effective enforcement of our views of the public interest.

Resolved, That this committee be appointed by the chair and have power to add to its numbers.

These resolutions, with the exception of the one instructing the appointing of a committee, are taken bodily from those adopted by the conference in Boston. Mr. Schurz said that there were quantities of Republicans and Independents throughout the State who would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to express their anti-Blaine sentiments by joining any movement that promised concerted action.

Moorfield Storey, of Boston, said:

We are united to rebuke corrupt men and corrupt methods in politics. What we differ in are points not vital to the questions at issue. We propose to vote generally for Republicans. We are willing to join the Democrats in putting such a man as Cleveland or Bayard in the Presidential chair. Our first duty is to induce the Democrats to put up a good man, our second to help them elect him.

Among those present at the meeting from Boston were the following:

Henry L. Pierce, Theodore Lyman, Col. T. W. Higginson, Prof. James B. Thayer, Phineas Pierce, Moorfield Storey, Josiah Quincy, Jabez Fox, A. J. C. Snowden, William Everett, James Means, George V. Leverett, George W. Wright, Richard Henry Dana, F. J. Stimson, George Clarendon Hodges, F. F. Raymond, 2d, Archibald M. Howe, Osborn Howes, Jr., Samuel Hoar, Edward Burnett, E. M. Wheelwright, Col. Albert A. Pope, W. W. Vaughn, Francis C. Lowell, John S. Farlow.

On June 20, 1884, the New York *Evening Post* said:

We have yet to see a Blaine organ which speaks of the Independent Republicans otherwise than as Pharisees, hypocrites, dudes, *Mugwumps*, transcendentalists, or something of that sort.

While *The Nation* of July 24, 1884, said:

The educated men in all the university towns . . . are in open revolt now. . . . We presume they can be partially disposed of by calling them Free-Traders—all educated men are Free-Traders, it seems—and if any of them hold out after that, they can be called *Mugwumps*.

From this time on, the term Mugwumps was applied to the Independents and was accepted by them.

The nomination of Mr. Cleveland, as has been shown, was brought about, and the Mugwumps were in high glee. The old charges against Mr. Blaine were resuscitated, although nothing new was brought out and no charge impeaching Mr. Blaine's integrity was substantiated or proved.

The leaders of the Mugwump movement were George William Curtis and Carl Schurz. Mr. Curtis's editorials in *Harper's Weekly* were being quoted throughout the country by the Mugwump papers, and Mr. Schurz was called upon to define the position of himself and followers in a public speech. This he did at Brooklyn on the evening of August 6th. As this speech was looked upon at the time, and has been held since, as the best exposition of the Mugwump position in 1884, a considerable portion of it is given herewith. Mr. Schurz began as follows:

Fellow-citizens: In obedience to the invitation with which I have been honored, I stand here in behalf of Republicans opposing the presidential candidates of the Republican party. You may well believe me when I say that it is no pleasure to me to enter upon a campaign like this. But a candid statement of our reasons for the step we have taken is due to those whose companionship in the pending contest we have left. It is, therefore, to Republicans that I address myself, I shall, of course, not waste any words upon politicians who follow the name of the party, right or wrong; but to the men of reason and conscience will I appeal, who loved their party for the good ends it was serving, and who were faithful to it in the same measure as it was faithful to the honor and the true interests of the republic. Let them hear me, and then decide whether the same fidelity will not irresistibly lead them where we stand now.

It was evidently thought necessary by Schurz to make clear to his audience and to the people of the country who would read his speech, that the matter of Protection and Free Trade did not enter into the position of the Mugwumps at all. He presented his contentions as follows:

At the threshold I have to meet a misapprehension of our motives.

It has been said, and, I suppose, believed by some, that we were dissatisfied with the Republican party because its present candidates were Protectionists. This is easily answered. Is Senator Edmunds of Vermont a Free-Trader? On the contrary, he is well known to be as strong a protectionist as any member of the Senate. And who among the candidates before the Republican National Convention was the favorite of the same "independent Republicans" now opposing the Republican nominations? The same Senator Edmunds. Why was he their favorite? Because he was thoroughly trusted as an honest man who could be depended upon to be faithful to those moral principles and political methods, the observance of which would make and keep the government honest. There was the decisive point. We should have supported other Republican candidates even of less prominence and of less ability than Mr. Edmunds possesses, no matter whether they were as strong Protectionists as he, provided they satisfied that one fundamental requirement of unimpeachable, positive and active integrity. This is a fact universally known which no candid man will question. What, then, has the Tariff question to do with the motives of our opposition? Nothing at all. And if any of those to whom these presents may come still assert that the Tariff is the moving cause of our action they convict themselves of being afraid of the real reasons which govern us, and of seeking artfully to deceive the people about them. So far it may have been a mistake; now it will be a lie.

Undoubtedly the Tariff is an interesting and important subject; so is the currency; so is the bank question; so is the Mormon question; so are many others. At other times they might absorb our attention. But this time the Republican National Convention has, with brutal directness, so that we must face it whether we will or not, forced upon the country another issue, which is infinitely more important, because it touches the vitality of our institutions. It is the question of honesty in government. I say the Republican convention has forced it upon the country, not by platform declarations, but by nominating for the presidency a man with a blemished public record. Understand me fully. The question is not merely whether Mr. Blaine if elected notwithstanding his past career, would or would not give the country a comparatively honest administration. The question is much larger than that. It is, whether the public record of the Republican candidate is not such as to make his election by the American people equivalent to a declaration on their

part that honesty will no longer be one of the requirements of the government of the republic. It is, whether such a declaration will not have the inevitable effect of sinking the government for generations to come, perhaps forever, into a depth of demoralization and corruption such as we have never dreamed of before. If this is really the issue of the pending campaign, then you will admit it to be the most momentous that has been upon us since the Civil War ; nay, as momentous as any involved in the civil war itself.

Mr. Schurz then indulged in reminiscence as follows :

Republicans, I yield to none of you in pride of the spirit and the great achievements of the Republican party in the past. There are undoubtedly men before me who took an active part in the great Republican campaign of 1860. I know you will feel your pulse beat quicker when you remember the joyous glow with which the enthusiastic consciousness of a noble cause filled our hearts ; with what eagerness we went into the conflict, having nothing to apologize for and nothing to conceal ; with what affection and confidence we commended to the suffrages of the people our standard bearer, honest Abraham Lincoln. Remember how, under Republican guidance, the American Union was washed clean of the stain of Slavery, and the great rebellion was vanquished and Abraham Lincoln was borne once more on our shield, with the same faith and the same affectionate confidence, for the trials of power had given to his honesty still more radiant luster.

And now, after 24 years of uninterrupted ascendancy, what has the party come to ? Look at it, the party of moral ideas, presenting as its great leader and representative a man whose unclean record it cannot deny and dare not face ! Listen to its spokesmen, how they dodge and squirm around that record as something too hot to touch — unfortunate attorneys, wretchedly troubled by the feeling that, if they respect themselves, they must take care not to identify themselves with the public morals of their client. Watch them, how they use the Tariff question as a great fig leaf which they stretch and spread to make it cover and hide the crookedness of their standard bearer ! What a burning shame and disgrace is this ! Pride of party indeed ! Those who are truly proud of the good the party has done will be too proud to consent to its degrading perversion into an instrument of evil. If the great party which abolished Slavery and saved the republic is to serve as an instrument to poison

the life of the same republic by crowning corruption with its highest honors, then the truly proud Republicans will wash their hands of it.

As they understood the great problem of the anti-Slavery period, so they understand the great problem of to-day. The contest in which we are engaged is not a mere crusade against one man. It is not a mere race between two. It is one of the great struggles for the vitality of this nation, the second one in our days. In 1860, when the slave power had stretched out its hands to secure its ascendancy in this Union forever, we fought to establish the fundamental condition of human society, which is freedom. And now, when the corrupt tendencies stimulated by the civil war and the commotions following it culminate in reaching for the prestige of national approval, we fight to re-establish the fundamental condition of good government, which is honesty. The cause of to-day is no less great and vital than was the cause of 25 years ago, and those who were proudest to stand up for freedom then will be proud to stand up for honest government now.

Then followed a reiteration of the charges against the Republican candidate (charges which had been shown to be unfounded calumnies), and an implied contrast was presented in the high standard of the public service of Mr. Cleveland. A good word was added for Mr. Hendricks as follows:

I repeat that nothing a Democratic success can bring with it will be as bad in its nature and as dangerous in its consequences to the future of the republic as the mere fact of Mr. Blaine's election. And I am ready further to declare that, for this reason, while I had my preferences among the Democratic candidates, I should have been willing, as against Mr. Blaine, to support any of them, provided he is an honest man with a perfectly untarnished record of official integrity. And here, I may say, by the way, that some of Mr. Blaine's friends pretend that the nomination of Mr. Hendricks for the vice-presidency together with Grover Cleveland in the first place, must be a great embarrassment to men of my way of thinking, and that we are unwilling to face it. They are mistaken. I am willing to face it. There are things in Mr. Hendricks's record, in the way of opinion and endeavor, which, I say it frankly, I was opposed to at the time and which I would oppose now were they to be repeated. But there is one thing which is not to be found in Mr. Hendricks's record, and that is the least flavor of corruption or of the prostitu-

tion of official power for private gain. Here is what the New York *Tribune* said of him some years ago : " An honest jurist, an able and incorruptible statesman and a wise politician, his views on public questions are entitled to great weight. His record as senator, representative, commissioner, and state legislator is pure and untarnished." And this happens to be now the main question. I therefore do not hesitate to say that were Mr. Hendricks not the candidate for the vice-presidency merely, but for the presidency itself, I should, in spite of our disagreements on subjects of policy, accept his election as a welcome escape from the blood poisoning with which Mr. Blaine's election would inevitably curse the American republic.

Mr. Schurz concluded his speech with the plea that the cause was greater than the party or candidates. His closing sentences were as follows :

This is not the cause of a mere party. It is greater than any party. It is in the broadest sense the cause of the people, the cause of all classes and honorable occupations alike. It speaks the language of interest and says to our merchants and business men: You know that the successful working of commerce and trade hangs upon trust between man and man. You need credit as a nation as you need confidence between individuals. If you discover that a managing man in your business is in secret concert with any of your customers and uses the opportunities of his position for his own personal profit, you confide in him no longer, but you discharge him. If you learn that the cashier of your bank so uses the opportunities of his place, you distrust the institution and withdraw your deposits. What will you think of yourselves, what will the world think of your business judgment and your sense of honesty, if in something far greater than your shop or your bank, if in the government of your country you promote the man who has done this to the highest place of honor and trust? You complain that the credit of our great enterprises has severely and most injuriously suffered at home and abroad by the unscrupulous tricks of the inside rings in corporate management. How will it be if you give the solemn sanction of your votes to something akin to the same practice in the government of the republic?

This is the cause of labor and says to the workingman: What you need above all things is a government of just laws and of

honest men to execute the laws. You need men who have the conscience and courage to say "No" to you when the law forbids that which you may ask for; for such men will have the conscience and courage to say "No" to those more powerful than you when they ask for what is unjust and injurious to you. Beware of the demagog who the more he flatters you with promises to-day the more he will be likely to betray you to-morrow. Beware of the political jobber, for in the very nature of things he is always the monopolist's own pet and bedfellow. How can you, laboring men, so betray your own interests as to support a candidate whose election will mean that in the opinion of the American people jobbery in the government is a legitimate occupation not to be punished but to be honored?

This is the cause of patriotism and national pride and it says to every citizen of the republic: Do you want the world abroad to respect the American name? Then show them first that the American people respect themselves. The American people will show how they respect themselves by the choice they make for their highest honors. Ask yourselves, Americans, how this republic will stand in the esteem of mankind and how its influence will be upheld by the confidence of nations if the American people by a solemn vote proclaim to the world that official honor is to them a thing of indifference, and that they select their president from among those who have prostituted high official trust for money.

And in the face of all this, still cry of "Party!" Woe to the republic whose citizens think of party and nothing but party when the honor of their country and the vitality of their government are at stake. But, happily, what an impotent cry it is in these days! Look around you and see what is going on. The time for a new migration of political forces seems to have come. The elements are restlessly moving, in all directions breaking through the barriers of old organizations. Here they march and there, some with uncertain purpose, crossing one another's paths and sometimes even their own. No doubt, one of the candidates of the two great parties will be president. But neither of the two parties, when it issues from the struggle, will be what it was before. This is the disorder which evolves new energies, for good or for evil. Such are periods of promise, but also of danger. What will come we cannot foresee. It is confusion that surrounds us. But in that confusion it is the part of patriotic men to stand together with

clear heads and a firm purpose. Their duty is plain. It is to see to it that, whatever the future may build up, its foundations at least be kept sound; that the honor of the American people be preserved intact, and that all political parties, new or old, become forever convinced of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to win success without respecting that vital condition of our greatness and glory, which is honest government.

The campaign went on, and the war of words, both in the press and on the platform, continued. No better exposition of the position of the Republicans in the conflict could be given than the following letter which appeared in the *New York Tribune*, October 4, 1884:

WHY HE IS FOR BLAINE.

JUDGE TOURGEE'S VIEWS OF POLITICAL DUTY—A CONCLUSIVE VERDICT AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

To the Editor of the "Tribune":

Admitting, for the argument's sake, all the charges and insinuations made against Mr. Blaine, he remains to my mind an infinitely better, purer, fitter man for the Presidency than Mr. Cleveland.

. . . I could not support Mr. Cleveland because of the company he keeps. I do not refer now to his hours of relaxation but to the public side of his character. He has associated with him upon the ticket one who was the counsellor, friend and champion of the Indiana Copperheads during the war. Now while I hold a man to be wanting in common manhood who will not forgive an open and honorable enemy and account him, if his merits justify, worthy of the closest friendship and the highest honor, yet I deem him worse than a fool who ever forgets or forgives the man of matured years who had not courage enough to go with the rebels nor manhood enough to stand by the country, but who stabbed in the back those who fought for the liberty he now enjoys. Others may vote to put such a man where he may exercise the highest powers of the Nation, but I never shall. Mr. Cleveland himself seems to have been blissfully ignorant that a war was in progress. He not only did nothing but said nothing. I once stood by while a gentleman who had a very fat dog drove some trespassing cows out of his grounds. After

expelling the intruders, he turned upon the dog, who had simply sat upon the doorstep and watched the proceedings in silence. "Take that, and that, and that," said the enraged owner, as he chucked one stone after another against the well-cushioned ribs of the delinquent. "I did n't expect you to run, but *you might at least have barked!*" Mr. Cleveland did not even bark, and Mr. Hendricks growled for the other side. Mr. Blaine did not enter the service. I am sorry for it, and do not doubt that he is also. But if he did not actually do any fighting for the country he stood by the crowd that did fight. He showed his good will, and never permitted any doubt as to which side he was on.

At the time I wrote the article referred to by *The Post* I was of the general opinion that the celebrated "Mulligan letters" established at least a probable case of improper conduct in his public capacity. Having since that time carefully studied the entire correspondence and read all that both sides have had to say in regard to it, I wish now to say that, regarded from any point of view, I see no evidence of an abuse of any public trust. It was an unfortunate thing that he allowed himself to become the agent of such a company, and the victim of such a set of blackmailers as Fisher and Mulligan. It is a pity that he ever had to ask favors of Caldwell. Yet I do not see how any one could be harmed except those to whom the bonds were sold, and their loss he made good. In fact, it seems to me that the worst thing about the whole matter is the fact that the road did not pay. If it had been a paying concern it is probable that nothing would have ever been heard of it, for if known at all it would have been counted vastly to his credit. Mr. Blaine had a right to speculate with his own money or induce others to speculate with theirs, just the same as any other American citizen. It is not claimed that he used his position to sell the bonds or in any other manner in connection with the transaction. I am under obligation to the Democratic press for publishing the last batch of these letters. To my mind they explain the transaction, and show Mr. Blaine to be far more entitled to sympathy than blame for the part he took in it.

I favor the election of Blaine and Logan, therefore, not "for any party purpose" or personal advantage, but because I deem it important that the spirit and purpose which had hitherto animated the Republican party should continue in control of the Nation, and especially because I should deem it a calamity, well-nigh irremedi-

able in its influence upon the public welfare and private morals, should the Democratic party with its controlling influences and chosen candidate receive the indorsement of public approval.

The same sense of duty which impelled me to oppose the selection of Mr. Blaine as a candidate of the Republican party, now that he is chosen as the leader of that party and represents its spirit and policy, compels me to make choice between him and his opponent—between that party and the Democracy—between a record of patriotic achievement and sullen obstruction—between the promise of prosperity and the prospect of peril. As I decide for myself so I have not only the right but the duty to urge my fellow-citizens to decide for themselves. . . .

Respectfully,

ALBION W. TOURGEE.

MAYVILLE, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1884.

As showing again how inconsistent were respectable papers as well as respectable men, the following is taken from the New York *Tribune* of October 4, 1884:

WHEN MR. BLAINE TOOK HIS SEAT.

A CONVINCING ARGUMENT.

(From the New York *Independent*, Sept. 25, 1884.)

When Mr. Mulligan closed his testimony before the Judiciary Committee, and *when Mr. Blaine took his seat (June 5, 1876) after having read in the House the letters he had stolen from Mr. Mulligan, the argument was strong enough to convince every man who was open to conviction.*

OF WHAT THE "INDEPENDENT" WAS CONVINCED.

(From the New York *Independent*, June 8, 1876.)

It is true that some five or six years ago Mr. Blaine was engaged in several transactions in respect to the purchase and sale of railroad securities, the details of which we need not describe; and it is also true that *in not a single one of those transactions has he been shown to have been a party to the doing of anything that reflects on his honor as a man or as a member of Congress, or lays the basis for an unfavorable inference, in respect to his personal or official integrity.*

In the *Tribune* of November 1, 1884, appeared the following which explains itself:

MR. HENDRICKS'S RECORD.

AN AUTHORITATIVE AND FRIENDLY SUMMARY OF IT.

To the Editor of the "Tribune."

SIR: Please answer the following questions and oblige an Independent Republican who believes in the excellent principles of the grand old Republican party, and who will vote for Blaine and Logan: What is Hendricks's war record? Was he a sympathizer with the rebels? Was he an inflationist and repudiator?

I have a friend, an Independent Republican, who is trying to swallow the Cleveland dose; but the Hendricks dose is too much for him, and he has about made up his mind to cast his vote for the party of the Union.

WM. LANGLEY.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 12, 1884.

Mr. George William Curtis has answered these questions with such directness and cogency that we only need to quote his words:

During the war he [Mr. Hendricks] was a Copperhead. . . . He left his church when its minister preached a loyal sermon, exhorting his people to sustain their Government. . . . It was just at the time that Mr. Tilden was engaged in publishing tracts to discredit and denounce Mr. Lincoln's conduct of the war. Mr. Hendricks zealously aided his work by addressing meetings, the calls of which summoned "all who are in favor of peace, all who desire to be free from the death grip of this wicked, tyrannical and imbecile administration, its arbitrary and illegal arrests, and its draft and conscription laws, by which peaceable citizens are dragged from their homes and all the endearments of domestic life, to butcher and be butchered, to come out and hear this advocate of peace and re-union." In February, 1863, at such a meeting, he denounced Mr. Lincoln for making an abolition war. It was the anti-Slavery men who were guilty: — "You may hear the prayers in our churches; your sons may go out to the battle-field; but our country is not to be restored as it was until Abolitionism is buried, never to be resurrected. I am ready to compromise at any time. I am ready to say to the people of the South — Come in again and we will secure to you your constitutional rights, and, if you desire them, additional guarantees. I do not know whether the Emancipation Proclamation is going to be taken back or not; I am going to vote to take it back the first opportunity I get. It was a wicked thing to have issued." These were Mr. Hendricks's views and words while his country was engaged in a mortal struggle with Slavery and treason. Is there any good reason why he should be selected from forty millions of people to be the possible head of a Government which he did his best to destroy? . . . Since the war he has been known only as a Democratic aspirant for the Presidency, apparently for the reasons that he lived in a Western State and would be acceptable to ex-rebels, Copperheads and inflationists.—*Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 2, 1876.

On the same date appeared a letter from Theodore Roosevelt to R. R. Bowker, concluding as follows:

As regards Civil Service Reform, you doubtless wrote me the letter you describe, but I happen to have totally forgotten it, as I had at the same time some hundred odd others on the same subject from different people. Of course, any movements in relation to the bill in the House had no reference to the letters of outside parties, of which we received innumerable quantities. The Republican minority by unanimous and concerted action fairly forced the Democratic majority to pass the bill. The curious oversight you refer to was made by the Democratic clerk and not by myself as you would have discovered had you read the journal of the day's proceedings in the Assembly. Civil Service Reform is not safer in Mr. Cleveland's hands than in Mr. Blaine's, as witness the recent case of Mr. Healy at Albany.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31, 1884.

A week before the election the success of the Republican ticket seemed assured. There was no question but that thousands of Irishmen, in New York and in Connecticut particularly, and to some extent in other States, had decided to vote for Mr. Blaine. On Wednesday, October 29th, Mr. Blaine met a gathering of clergymen at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Nearly a thousand ministers, representing every denomination, were present, and after the meeting had been organized, these resolutions were adopted:

That we believe that the triumph of the principles of the Republican party is essential to the welfare of the country, and to the preservation of the results of the late civil strife, and consequently that the election of its representatives in the persons of James G. Blaine and John A. Logan is imperative.

That we believe in the purity of the personal character of these standard-bearers, and also believe in their trained capacity as statesmen to meet the claims of the high offices for which they are in nomination.

That we protest against the coronation of conceded personal impurity as represented by the head of the Democratic ticket, and

while we deplore the necessity, we do not evade the responsibility of declaring our judgment to the world of this insult to Christian civilization embodied in such a nomination for the presidency of the republic.

That we are opposed to putting a premium on disloyalty as represented by the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Democratic party.

That we expect all well-meaning and loyal citizens regardless of party when purity is at stake, not to vote for the prohibition candidate, to cast half a vote for the Democratic candidate with a semi-sanction of impurity and dissipation, nor to cast a whole vote for a man whose name is now the conspicuous synonym for both incapacity and incontinency.

That we expect our fellow-citizens to cast one vote for virtue in the home, for protection for the rights of the humblest citizens at home and abroad, for protection for American industries, for the settlement of international differences by arbitration, for war against polygamy, for decent treatment of the Indians, for the preservation of the results of the wars of the Revolution and of the rebellion, for every sacred interest of our beloved country, by voting the Republican ticket at the ensuing national election.

It had been planned that the Rev. Dr. Tiffany should deliver the address of the gathering to Mr. Blaine. His eloquence, his experience, and political associations well fitted him for the task, but in the absence of Dr. Tiffany, Rev. Dr. Burchard, who happened to be the oldest minister present, was selected to greet Mr. Blaine, and, as the candidate entered the parlor, spoke to him as follows:

We are very happy to welcome you to this circle. You see here a representative of all the denominations of this city. You see the large number that are represented. We are your friends, Mr. Blaine, notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been urged in the papers against you. We stand by your side. We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have a higher expectation, which is that you will be the President of the United States and that you will do honor to our name, to the United States, and to the high office you will occupy. We are Republicans and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose ante-

cedents have been rum, Romanism and rebellion. We are loyal to our flag. We are loyal to you.

Dr. Burchard was followed by short addresses from Dr. Spear, Dr. MacArthur, Rabbi Browne, Dr. Roberts, and S. D. Halliday of Plymouth Church, and a word or two from others. Mr. Blaine was visibly affected by the occasion and replied briefly, but alluded in no way to the alliteration of Dr. Burchard. The meeting was held a little after noon, and before dark the streets of New York were covered with little handbills containing the words: "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." It seemed as if millions of them had been suddenly thrown off the press and poured into every doorway, thrust into every hand, pasted upon every wall, almost literally covering the streets and sidewalks of the metropolis. The expression, which had not in any way impressed itself upon Mr. Blaine's mind at the time, was eagerly taken up by the Democratic committee, as its value was seen upon the eve of election. The Democratic and Mugwump press made the most of it, putting the words of Dr. Burchard into the mouth of Mr. Blaine, and making him alone responsible for the utterance. On the Saturday following at New Haven, Mr. Blaine himself in a speech remarked as follows:

There has been in my hands since my arrival in New Haven an address from the clergymen of this city expressing their respect and confidence, and through the person who delivered it the assurance that in matters of public right, and in matters of public participation under the laws and Constitution of the United States, they know no sect, they know no Protestant, no Catholic, no Hebrew, but the equality of all. In the city of Hartford I had a letter put in my hands asking me why I had charged the Democratic party with being inspired by Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion. My answer in the first place is, that they put in my mouth an unfortunate expression of another man; and in the next place it gives me an opportunity to say, at the close of the campaign, that in public speeches which I have made I have refrained carefully and instinctively from making any disrespectful allusion to the Democratic party. I differ from that party profoundly on matters of principle, but I have too

much respect for the millions of my countrymen whom it embraces to assail it with epithets or abuse. In the next place, I am sure I am the last man in the United States who would make a disrespectful allusion to another man's religion.

The United States guarantees freedom of religious opinion, and before the law and under the Constitution the Protestant and the Catholic and the Hebrew stand entitled to absolutely the same recognition and the same protection, and if disrespectful allusion is here to be made toward the religion of any man, as I have said, I am the last man to make it, for though Protestant by conviction and connected with a Protestant church, I should esteem myself of all men the most degraded if under any pressure or under any temptation I could in any presence make a disrespectful allusion to that ancient faith in which my revered mother lived and died.

On the same evening, following the Burchard incident, Mr. Blaine dined at Delmonico's as the guest of Cyrus W. Field and other business men. The Democratic and Mugwump papers, however, emphasized the fact that Mr. Blaine had dined with Jay Gould, although Mr. Gould was but one of the two hundred prominent men present. Ex-Secretary Evarts presided and read several letters and telegrams of regret, closing the proceedings by saying: "I have the pleasure of reading another telegram from one who stands among the highest of all living poets of this country, a faithful combatant from the outbreak of the scheme of universal liberty until its consummation." He then read the following:

AMESBURY, MASS., October Twenty-nine.

CYRUS W. FIELD :

I cannot avail myself of the invitation to the banquet to-day, but I join you in the hope that the coming election will call your honored guest to the high place he is so well fitted to fill.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

An editorial in the New York *Tribune* of Saturday, November 1st, addressing the Mugwumps, said :

Consider, first, the provocation this year for a revolt from the Republican party. Mr. Blaine was the free and deliberate choice

of the Republican party. You cannot question this. But you fear the instinct of the great mass of Republican voters was wrong and that Mr. Blaine was not a proper candidate. Why do you fear this? Because Mr. Schurz, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Beecher say so? Is Carl Schurz a better lawyer or a more honorable public man than Mr. Evarts? Or is Mr. Curtis purer and more wholesome in his political convictions than Dr. Woolsey, or Dr. Porter, or Dr. Hopkins, or President White? Or is Henry Ward Beecher a safer guide in politics and morals than Dr. Storrs, or hundreds of the metropolitan clergy, who paid their respects to Mr. Blaine on Wednesday last? Be honest with yourselves and with the country. Are they three men to be blindly followed when the judgment of the shrewdest and most distinguished lawyers, the noblest and most conscientious statesmen, and the purest and most devout divines of the land is arrayed against theirs?

Nowhere during the campaign did the candidacy of Mr. St. John or Mr. Butler cause much attention, and yet the vote of each had no little bearing upon the result of the election. The election itself on November 4th passed off without particular incident, and the result will be seen in the table found on the next page:

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Grover Cleveland, New York	James G. Blaine, Maine	Benjamin F. Butler, Massachusetts	John P. St. John, Kansas	Cleveland and Hendricks	Blaine and Logan
Alabama	93,951	59,591	873	612	10	
Arkansas	72,927	50,895	1,847		7	
California	89,288	102,416	2,017	2,920		8
Colorado	27,723	36,290	1,953	761		3
Connecticut	67,199	65,923	1,688	2,305	6	
Delaware	16,964	12,951	6	55	3	
Florida	31,766	28,031		72	4	
Georgia	94,667	48,603	145	195	12	
Illinois	312,355	337,474	10,910	12,074		22
Indiana	244,990	238,463	8,293	3,028	15	
Iowa	177,316	197,089		1,472		13
Kansas	90,132	154,406	16,341	4,495		9
Kentucky	152,961	118,122	1,691	3,139	13	
Louisiana	62,540	46,347			8	
Maine	52,140	72,209	3,953	2,160		6
Maryland	96,932	85,699	531	2,794	8	
Massachusetts	122,481	146,724	24,433	10,026		14
Michigan	149,835	192,669	42,243	18,403		13
Minnesota	70,144	111,923	3,583	4,684		7
Mississippi	76,510	43,509			9	
Missouri	235,988	202,929		2,153	16	
Nebraska	54,391	79,912		2,899		5
Nevada	5,578	7,193	26			3
New Hampshire	39,183	43,349	552	1,571		4
New Jersey	127,798	123,440	3,496	6,159	9	
New York	563,154	562,005	16,994	25,016	36	
North Carolina	142,952	125,068		454	11	
Ohio	368,280	400,082	5,179	11,069		23
Oregon	24,604	26,860	726	492		3
Pennsylvania	392,785	473,804	16,992	15,283		30
Rhode Island	12,391	19,030	422	928		4
South Carolina	69,890	21,733			9	
Tennessee	133,258	124,078	957	1,131	12	
Texas	225,309	93,141	3,321	3,534	13	
Vermont	17,331	39,514	785	1,752		4
Virginia	185,497	139,356		138	12	
West Virginia	67,317	63,096	810	939	6	
Wisconsin	146,459	161,157	4,598	7,656		11
Total	4,874,986	4,851,981	175,370	150,369	219	182

CHAPTER VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND—FREE-TRADE MESSAGE— TARIFF DISCUSSION—THE MILLS BILL.

FOR the first time since the Republican party elected its first President it was defeated, and yet by a margin so narrow that any one of a dozen causes can be given as the particular reason for the defeat of Mr. Blaine. A change of less than six hundred votes in the State of New York would have elected him. As it was, he received in New York State 220,000 more votes than did Mr. Folger in 1882. It is pretty clear, therefore, that he was not defeated by the Mugwump vote. The Burchard incident and the dinner given by the so-called capitalists and plutocrats at Delmonico's were no doubt the means of changing several hundred men from Mr. Blaine who had determined to vote for him. Mr. Butler drew away enough votes to have changed the result, as did also Mr. St. John. There were more than enough fraudulent votes cast and counted in the city of New York and Long Island to bring about the defeat of Mr. Blaine. Senator Hoar, in his *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, says:

I suppose it would hardly be denied now by persons acquainted with the details of the management of the Democratic campaign, at any rate I have heard the fact admitted by several very distinguished Democrats, members of the Senate of the United States, that the plurality of the vote of New York was really cast for Mr. Blaine, and that he was unjustly deprived of election by the fraud at Long Island City by which votes cast for the Butler Electoral Ticket were counted for Cleveland.

But from some one or from all these causes put together Mr. Blaine was defeated and Grover Cleveland was elected. A. K. McClure, in *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, says that one thousand Republican votes in Oneida County, the home of Mr. Conkling, were cast for Mr. Cleveland. This alone would have defeated Mr. Blaine. Mr. McClure also makes the claim that Mr. Blaine's attempt to run his own campaign was fatal to him. He says:

Blaine would have been matchless in the skillful management of a Presidential campaign for another, but he was dwarfed by the overwhelming responsibilities of conducting the campaign for himself, and yet he assumed the supreme control of the struggle and directed it absolutely from the start to finish. He was of heroic mould, and he wisely planned his own campaign tours to accomplish the best results. In point of fact, he had won his fight after stumping the country, and lost it by his stay in New York on his way home. He knew how to sway multitudes, and none could approach him in that important feature of a conflict; but he was not trained to consider the thousand intricacies which fall upon the management of every Presidential contest.

It was some days after the election before the result was known, the vote in New York State particularly being close, but, once it was determined, there was ready acquiescence on the part of the keenly disappointed Republicans, while on the contrary the Democrats were hilarious with joy over their first victory since the election of James Buchanan in 1856. Naturally the Mugwumps claimed everything and were not slow to give themselves the credit for having brought about the change.

Although the election of 1884 gave a Democratic majority to the House of Representatives, which would convene the following year, yet the Senate remained Republican. It was seen at the outset, then, that no revolutionary legislation could be enacted during Mr. Cleveland's term, and no undue business excitement followed as was the case eight years later, when the Democratic party was successful in all three branches of the Government.

President Arthur in his annual message to Congress, December, 1884, said:

I concur with the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending the immediate suspension of the coinage of silver dollars and of the issuance of silver certificates. This is a matter to which, in former communications, I have more than once invoked the attention of the national legislature. It appears that annually for the past six years there have been coined, in compliance with the requirements of the act of February 28, 1878, more than twenty-seven million silver dollars. The number now outstanding is reported by the Secretary to be nearly one hundred and eighty-five million, whereof but little more than forty million, or less than 22 per cent., are in actual circulation.

While apprehension was felt that the continued coinage of the silver dollar would bring about a crisis, yet there was no legislation on the subject, and there was no reference made to the silver question in President Cleveland's inaugural message.

The inauguration of Grover Cleveland took place on the 4th of March, 1885, and was attended with unusual military and civic display. The President's inaugural message was short and given chiefly to generalities with no specific mention of any desired form of legislation. The President appointed as his Cabinet the following: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney of New York; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi; Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas. The changes made in the most important diplomatic appointments were as follows:

Minister to Great Britain, Edward J. Phelps of Vermont; Minister to Germany, George H. Pendleton of Ohio; Minister to France, Robert M. McLane of Maryland; Minister to Mexico, Henry R. Jackson of Georgia; Minister to Turkey, Samuel S. Cox of New York; Minister to Brazil, Thomas J. Jarvis of North Carolina; Minister to the Argentine Republic, Bayliss W. Hanna of Indiana; Minister to the Netherlands, Isaac Bell, Jr., of Rhode Island; Minister to Sweden and Norway, Rufus Magee of Indiana; Minister to the Hawaiian

Islands, George W. Merrill of Nevada; Minister Resident and Consul-General to Portugal, Edward P. C. Lewis of New Jersey; Minister Resident and Consul-General to Denmark, Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson of Wisconsin; Minister to Chili, William R. Roberts of New York; Minister to Peru, Charles W. Buck of Kentucky; Minister Resident and Consul-General to Hayti, John E. W. Thompson of New York; Minister Resident and Consul-General to Switzerland, Boyd Winchester of Kentucky; Minister to Italy, John B. Stallo of Ohio; Minister to Japan, Richard B. Hubbard of Texas; Consul-General at London, ex-Governor Thomas M. Waller of Connecticut; Consul-General at Berlin, Frederick Raine of Maryland; Consul-General at Vienna, Edmund Jussen of Illinois; Consul-General at Rome, William L. Alden of New York; Consul-General at St. Petersburg, Pierce B. M. Young of Georgia; Consul at Liverpool, Charles T. Russell of Connecticut.

Among the most important civil appointments were the following:

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild of New York; Commissioner of Pensions, Gen. John C. Black of Illinois; Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Joseph S. Miller of West Virginia; Commissioner of Patents, Marvin V. Montgomery of Michigan; First Assistant Postmaster-General, Malcolm Hay of Pennsylvania; First Comptroller of the Treasury, Milton J. Durham of Kentucky; Commissioner of the General Land Office, William A. J. Sparks of Illinois; Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Henry L. Muldrow of Mississippi; Solicitor of the Treasury, Alexander McCue of New York; Commissioner of Railroads, Joseph E. Johnston of Virginia; Commissioner of Agriculture, Norman J. Coleman of Missouri; Second Assistant Postmaster-General, A. Leo Knott of Maryland. Later in the year, First Assistant Postmaster-General Hay resigned on account of ill health, and was succeeded by William E. Smith of New York.

Henry J. Pearson was reappointed as Postmaster at New York. The new appointments continued during the recess, in fact there was no cessation of changes during the whole of Mr. Cleveland's term. The Republicans had been in power so

long, and the Democrats had been deprived of offices for so long, that the opportunity was taken to fill them as speedily as possible. As Mr. George William Curtis had said in the Republican National Convention, "The Democrats were very hungry and very thirsty," and the Democratic President was naturally besieged from morning till night by would-be office-holders and their friends. Not that Mr. Cleveland made more changes than any other President before and since, but the change of party administration brought with it, under our political system, a turning-out of one class of men and a putting-in of another. Mr. Cleveland had a more or less difficult job upon his hands, and it must be admitted that he was quite equal to the requirements. In spite of Civil Service reform contentions, Mr. Cleveland in less than two years appointed Democrats to 42,992 out of 56,134 positions then subject to presidential appointment. Changes were made in the Civil Service Commission as follows: Alfred P. Edgerton of Indiana was appointed in place of Dorman B. Eaton, and William L. Trenholm of South Carolina, in place of John M. Gregory. Mr. Eaton was then reappointed to succeed Mr. Leroy B. Thoman.

Nothing of moment occurred during the year till the opening of the Forty-ninth Congress, December 7, 1885. Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President, had presided over the extra session, and at the opening of the first regular session John Sherman of Ohio was chosen President *pro tempore* of the Senate by a vote of 34 to 29 cast for Isham G. Harris of Tennessee. The House of Representatives organized by electing John G. Carlisle of Kentucky Speaker. He received 178 votes against 138 cast for Thomas B. Reed of Maine. The President's message was given largely to foreign affairs and to the financial condition of the Government. Touching in the closing part of his message upon Civil Service reform the President said:

The report of the Civil-Service Commission, which will be submitted, contains an account of the manner in which the civil-service law has been executed during the last year, and much valuable information on this important subject.

I am inclined to think that there is no sentiment more general in

the minds of the people of our country than a conviction of the correctness of the principle upon which the law enforcing civil-service reform is based. In its present condition the law regulates only a part of the subordinate public positions throughout the country. It applies the test of fitness to applicants for these places by means of a competitive examination, and gives large discretion to the commissioners as to the character of the examination and many other matters connected with its execution. Thus the rules and regulations adopted by the commission have much to do with the practical usefulness of the statute and with the results of its application.

The people may well trust the commission to execute the law with perfect fairness and with as little irritation as is possible. But of course no relaxation of the principle which underlies it and no weakening of the safeguards which surround it can be expected. Experience in its administration will probably suggest amendment of the methods of its execution, but I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our Government could survive the strain of a continuance of this system, which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of Government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointments, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent.

The allurements of an immense number of offices and places, exhibited to the voters of the land, and the promise of their bestowal in recognition of partisan activity, debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office-holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good and solicitude for the nation's welfare, would be nearly banished from the activity of our party contests, and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place.

Civil-service reform enforced by law came none too soon to check the progress of demoralization.

One of its effects, not enough regarded, is the freedom it brings

to the political action of those conservative and sober men who, in fear of the confusion and risk attending an arbitrary and sudden change in all the public offices with a change of party rule, cast their ballots against such a chance.

Parties seem to be necessary, and will long continue to exist; nor can it be now denied that there are legitimate advantages, not disconnected with office-holding, which follow party supremacy. While partisanship continues bitter and pronounced, and supplies so much of motive to sentiment and action, it is not fair to hold public officials in charge of important trusts responsible for the best results in the performance of their duties, and yet insist that they shall rely, in confidential and important places, upon the work of those not only opposed to them in political affiliation, but so steeped in partisan prejudice and rancor that they have no loyalty to their chiefs and no desire for their success. Civil-service reform does not exact this, nor does it require that those in subordinate positions who fail in yielding their best service, or who are incompetent, should be retained simply because they are in place. The whining of a clerk discharged for indolence or incompetency, who, though he gained his place by the worst possible operation of the spoils system, suddenly discovers that he is entitled to protection under the sanction of civil-service reform, represents an idea no less absurd than the clamor of the applicant who claims the vacant position as his compensation for the most questionable party work.

The civil-service law does not prevent the discharge of the indolent or incompetent clerk, but it does prevent supplying his place with the unfit party worker. Thus, in both these phases, is seen benefit to the public service. And the people who desire good government having secured this statute will not relinquish its benefits without protest. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that its full advantages can only be gained through the complete good faith of those having its execution in charge. And this they will insist upon.

I recommend that the salaries of the Civil-Service Commissioners be increased to a sum more nearly commensurate with their important duties.

At the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress a bill was brought forward by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, providing for the presidential succession, but it was not acted upon.

The same bill substantially was brought forward again during the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress and passed by the Senate, but was not taken up by the House of Representatives. On December 15, 1885, the same bill was brought forward again in the Senate. It was as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in case of removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of State, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of the Treasury, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of War, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Attorney-General, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Postmaster General, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of the Navy, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation, or inability, then the Secretary of the Interior, shall act as President until the disability of the President or Vice-President is removed or a President shall be elected: *Provided,* That whenever the powers and duties of the office of President of the United States shall devolve upon any of the persons named herein, if Congress be not then in session, or if it would not meet in accordance with law within twenty days thereafter, it shall be the duty of the person upon whom said powers and duties shall devolve to issue a proclamation convening Congress in extraordinary session, giving twenty days' notice of the time of meeting.

Sec. 2. That the preceding section shall only be held to describe and apply to such officers as shall have been appointed by the advice and consent of the Senate to the offices therein named, and such as are eligible to the office of President under the Constitution, and not under impeachment by the House of Representatives of the United States at the time the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon them respectively.

Sec. 3. That sections 146, 147, 148, 149, and 150 of the Revised Statutes are hereby repealed.

The provisions of the Revised Statutes to be repealed under the last section were those providing for the order of succession

upon the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Senator Hoar in supporting his bill said that the idea had been taken from his brother, formerly the Attorney-General in Grant's Cabinet. The Senator said further:

As it has been said, the immediate occasion for this bill, which has given it its prominence in public estimation, although it has passed the Senate once or twice when there was no contingency—the immediate occasion of this bill is the impression upon the public mind of the grave and serious necessity for casting new safeguards about the life of the President of the United States; it is clear, as I said just now in another connection, that the security against the attempts on the life of the President by any political criminal in a time of great public excitement, when persons are maddened and crazed as the feeble mind of Guiteau was by a political quarrel, or a person who persuades himself that he is performing the part of a Brutus, by ridding the country of a tyrant, who is sane—will be much greater under this bill than under existing law. The motive which affects their minds, and which has affected at least two such minds in our country, will continue to affect them if a new election of President is to be the result of the removal of the President and Vice-President. But if the principal adviser, the principal leader and exponent of the policies and principles of the party that elected the existing President, is to succeed to the office, and so in turn his other Cabinet advisers, that motive is entirely gone. And it is not a man, it is under the theory of our Constitution a principle of political conduct for which the people of the United States declare when they elect a President and Vice-President; and that is continued by the provisions of this bill.

The bill was passed without a division on December 17, 1885. On January 12, 1886, the measure was reported to the House from the select Committee on the Election of President and Vice-President, and on January 15th was passed. The President approved the bill January 19, 1886. A bill passed both Houses, and was approved by the President, imposing a tax upon and regulating the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine. There were introduced into the Senate during the session 289 bills and 83 joint

resolutions, and into the House of Representatives 10,017 bills and 216 joint resolutions. Congress passed 1095 bills, of which the President approved 814, and 157 became laws without signature, while 115 were vetoed and 9 failed for want of action at the close of the session. One bill was passed over the President's veto. During the year, Horatio Seymour died at his home in Utica, and Samuel J. Tilden died at his country residence, Greystone on the Hudson. Early in the year 1887 Secretary Manning of the Treasury resigned his portfolio, and the President appointed to the vacant place the Assistant Treasurer, Charles S. Fairchild. The death of Justice Woods of the Supreme Court in May left a vacancy on the bench. No nomination of a successor was made till December, when Secretary L. Q. C. Lamar, of the Interior Department, was selected by the President. This appointment was followed by the transfer of Postmaster-General Vilas to the Interior Department, and the nomination of Don M. Dickinson of Michigan to be Postmaster-General. These nominations were not acted upon by the Senate till early in 1888, when they were confirmed.

Five new appointive offices were created by the provisions of the Interstate Commerce bill, passed in January, 1887. These offices, constituting the Interstate Commerce Commission, were filled by Mr. Cleveland in March by the appointment of Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan, for the term of six years; William R. Morrison of Illinois, for five years; August Schoonmaker of New York, for four years; Aldace F. Walker of Vermont, for three years; and Walter A. Bragg of Alabama, for two years. Two members of the commission, Messrs. Cooley and Walker, were Republicans.

The only event outside of general routine business of the Government which caused any comment during the year was the order directing the return to the States of all flags captured from the Confederates during the War, which were then stored at the War Department at Washington. So great was the protest from Northern men, and particularly from the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, that President Cleveland recalled the order, and assured the country that it had been

prompted only by patriotic motives and in the hope that it would accord with the general feelings of conciliation hitherto expressed between the two sections.

On September 15th, 16th, and 17th was celebrated at Philadelphia the Centennial anniversary of the Constitution. The opening address was delivered by ex-Minister John A. Kasson, President of the Centennial Commission, who introduced the President of the United States. The closing paragraph of the President's address was as follows:

As we look down the past century to the origin of our Constitution, as we contemplate its trials and triumphs, as we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril and every national need, how devoutly should we confess with Franklin, "God governs in the affairs of men"; and how solemn should be the reflection that to our hands is committed this ark of the people's covenant, and that ours is the duty to shield it from impious hands. We receive it sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past, and in all the future years it will be found sufficient, if the American people are true to their sacred trust. Another Centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant that they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived a hundred years ago, so may others who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and in our jealous love for constitutional liberty.

President Cleveland's second annual message sent to the Forty-ninth Congress at the opening of its second session, December 6, 1886, was devoted entirely to routine matters, and was not particularly discussed afterwards. On February 3, 1887, the President approved the bill providing for counting electoral votes, which had passed both Houses. A bill entitled "An Act to amend Section 5352 of the Revised Statutes of the United States in Reference to Bigamy and for Other Purposes," passed the Senate January 8, 1886. The Judiciary Committee of the House reported this measure with a substitute January 12, 1887. The substitute, slightly amended, passed without a division, and the Senate nonconcurring in the

House Amendment, a conference committee was appointed. The measure as recommended by the conference committee passed the House by a vote of 202 to 40, and the Senate by a vote of 37 to 13, and yet the measure became a law without the approval of the President.

The law creating the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was a conference measure, passed the Senate on January 14, 1887, by a vote of 43 to 15, and was accepted by the House January 21st by a vote of 219 to 41. The President approved of the measure February 4, 1887.

The Fiftieth Congress met on December 5, 1887. The Senate was almost equally divided, but elected John J. Ingalls of Kansas president *pro tempore*, and Anson G. McCook of New York secretary. The House elected John G. Carlisle of Kentucky Speaker by a vote of 163 against 157 cast for Thomas B. Reed of Maine. On December 6th the President's message was sent in and was devoted exclusively to one subject, the Tariff. Attention was first called to the surplus already in the Treasury, and the estimated surplus for the coming year. After making various suggestions the President indulged in a little economic discussion of his own. The wool schedule of the existing Tariff law was fiercely attacked, and the contention in favor of free wool vigorously defended. The President then made several assertions, which in the light of later events should be quoted here, as follows:

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a Tariff or duty levied on importations from abroad, and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present Tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the

price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer.

The President, in concluding his arguments, said :

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of Protection and Free-Trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets.

It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim, made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called "Free Traders" is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good. The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workmen have, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The message very naturally precipitated a Tariff discussion, and it was incumbent upon the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to make some attempt at carrying out the President's policy. The Ways and Means Committee at once set to work and drafted the so-called Mills bill, named after the chairman of that committee, Roger Q. Mills of Texas. On April 2, 1888, the bill was reported, being accompanied by a minority report submitted by Mr. McKinley of Ohio. The discussion upon the bill was taken up April 17th, the debate being opened by Mr. Mills in favor of the measure, and Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania in opposition to it. The discussion continued until May 19th, when the general debate was closed with speeches by Speaker Carlisle and Mr. Reed. One hundred and fifty-one speeches in all were made during the general debate on the bill. Said Mr. Springer of Illinois, in closing the debate under the five-minute rule, July 19th:

This debate will perhaps be known as the most remarkable that ever occurred in our parliamentary history. It has awakened an interest not only throughout the length and breadth of our own country, but throughout the civilized world; and henceforth, as long as our Government shall endure, it will be known as "The Great Tariff Debate of 1888."

The arguments used by Mr. Mills have been so thoroughly discredited since 1888 that space would not be warranted in quotation. In fact, as the Democratic party have since that time framed and passed a Tariff law, it is only essential that we refer to the Mills bill as showing what the Democratic party is capable of doing. It was, of course, with a Republican Senate, impossible to pass any kind of a Free-Trade, or, as they would have it, "Revenue Reform," measure. Mr. Cleveland had suggested in his message that the term "Free-Trade" be not used, but the Democrats in Congress were not afraid of the word and used it without flinching. The Mills bill was framed by a committee described by Senator Plumb as follows:

The committee consists nominally of thirteen members, five of whom are Republicans and eight Democrats, but six of the latter

come from States recently under the thralldom of Slavery, namely, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Georgia, and West Virginia—these States thus furnishing six-eighths of this important committee; and I say this advisedly, for while there are nominally five Republican members, the bill comes solely from the eight Democratic members, not one of the Republicans having been permitted to see the bill, or even to know a single syllable it was to contain until it had been published to the country. All the Republicans on that committee might as well have been at their homes as dancing attendance at the committee-room while this bill was being formulated. It is a delusion to think that there were thirteen members on that committee; there were but eight, the five appointed from manufacturing States and favoring Protection were absolutely ignored; they were not permitted to participate in the work of the committee, and were not recognized as having any right to act or to have a voice in its deliberations; and of the eight practically constituting the committee, six, as I have shown, came from a particular section.

At the close of the debate the following colloquy occurred:

Mr. McComas (Rep.). Has any friend of this bill in this debate uttered one sentence in favor of the American Tariff system which discriminates in favor of the home producer and laborer?

Mr. Hooker (Dem.). No; there was no one, and you will not find any Democrat to utter one.

The bill was a sectional one in the extreme, having free wool, free lumber, free salt, free stone, free meat, and free vegetables, all products of the North, while rice, sugar, and peanuts, products of the South, were left with a high duty. This one feature of the bill represents its inconsistencies and incongruities. Mr. McKinley, in his great speech upon the bill conceded the necessity of reducing the revenue of the Government, but showed plainly that it should not be made in the manner proposed by the bill. He showed its perniciousness, particularly in the introduction of the *ad valorem* system to take the place of specific duties. He concluded his speech as follows:

This measure is not called for by the people; it is not an American measure; it is inspired by importers and foreign producers,

most of them aliens, who want to diminish our trade and increase their own; who want to decrease our prosperity and augment theirs, and who have no interest in this country except what they can make out of it. To this is added the influence of the professors in some of our institutions of learning, who teach the science contained in books and not that of practical business. I would rather have my political economy founded upon the every-day experience of the puddler or the potter than the learning of the professor, the farmer and factory hand than the college faculty. Then there is another class who want Protective Tariffs overthrown. They are the men of independent wealth, with settled and steady incomes, who want everything cheap but currency; the value of everything clipped but coin—cheap labor but dear money. These are the elements which are arrayed against us.

Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania made his last Protection speech in the House of Representatives in opposition to the Mills bill, while Mr. Reed of Maine, as well as Mr. McKinley, by their refutation of the Democratic contentions, made themselves famous. Perhaps no illustration, of the many used by Mr. Reed in his famous speech, will be longer remembered than the following, which so well pictures the Free-Trader who would give up our home market in exchange for some foreign market, the gain and worth of which is visionary :

Once there was a dog. He was a nice little dog. Nothing the matter with him except a few foolish Free-Trade ideas in his head. He was trotting along happy as the day, for he had in his mouth a nice shoulder of succulent mutton. By and by he came to a stream bridged by a plank. He trotted along, and, looking over the side of the plank, he saw the markets of the world and dived for them. A minute after he was crawling up the bank the wettest, the sickest, the nastiest, the most muttonless dog that ever swam ashore.

The bill passed the House by a vote of 162 to 149, 14 not voting. The only Republicans who voted for the bill were Brower of North Carolina, Fitch of New York, and Nelson of Minnesota. The only Democrats who voted against it were Bliss, Greenman, and Merriman of New York, and Sowden

of Pennsylvania. Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania was paired against the bill.

The House bill when it reached the Senate was referred to the Finance Committee, the Republican majority of which prepared a substitute, which was reported in the form of an amendment, October 3d. It was taken up on October 8th, the opening speech being made by Mr. Allison of Iowa, who gave a full explanation of the Senate bill. It was not, however, discussed to any great length, and there was no attempt to push it to a vote. The Senate bill, recognizing the necessity for a reduction of revenue, did this through the internal revenue provisions, while the import duties of the House bill were, as a whole, increased with the exception of the Tariff on sugar, which was cut about one half. The bill, of course, died with the adjournment of the session and Congress.

Roscoe Conkling died on April 18, 1888. After his retirement from the Senate, Mr. Conkling entered private life, resuming the practice of law in New York City. His name was sent to the Senate by President Arthur in 1882 for a place on the bench on the United States Supreme Court, but Mr. Conkling declined.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1888—THE TARIFF ISSUE— ELECTION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

THE ninth Republican National Convention was held at Chicago beginning Tuesday, June 19, 1888. B. F. Jones, chairman of the National Committee called the convention to order, and concluded his address as follows:

Through the criminal folly of certain professed Republicans, and by fraud and duplicity on the part of the Democratic party, our honored and gallant standard bearers in 1884 were defeated. Fortunately for the country, we still have the benefit of the wise laws passed by the Republican party, and still have a majority in the Senate of the United States, which majority has prevented unwise legislation. We are again confronted with this same Democratic party, the mother of all the evils from which this country has suffered, asking for the power to control and direct its future course, and we find that the same element which first led it astray by its malign influence, and dominated it down to the grievous days of the Rebellion, is again in full control of its affairs. If a majority of the American voters favor the giving away of the home market, incomparably the best in the world, and the forcing of our people, now the most prosperous and happy on the face of the earth, into competition with and down to a level with the cheapest, poorest, and most miserable of our foreign rivals, the Democratic reactionary doctrines will prevail. If not, the Republican party will resume its authority, and successfully lead this great country, with its beneficent institutions, toward that sublime goal which all patriots believe to be its Heaven-ordained destiny. I have no doubt of the result.

After prayer, Samuel Fessenden, secretary of the national

committee, read the call which had been made from Washington, December 9, 1887.

John M. Thurston of Nebraska was chosen as temporary chairman. The temporary secretaries selected were Charles W. Clisbee of Michigan, Michael Griffin of Wisconsin, and William Ruel of Tennessee. Among other things Mr. Thurston said in his address to the convention:

We enter upon the proceedings of this convention prepared to submit individual judgment to the wisdom of the majority, and to lay down personal preferences on the altar of party success. When our candidates are nominated we will all join, heart and soul, in the grand chorus of rejoicing; and the rainbow of our harmony will give certain promise of a victorious morning in November. When the Democratic party, at the close of the last Presidential election,—robbed us of a victory honestly and fairly won, we patiently waited for the certain coming of the justice of the years. We hoped and believed that 1888 would right the great political wrong of 1884,—right it, not only for the Republican party, but for the grand and glorious candidates whose names were the inspiration of that wonderful campaign. The wisdom of an all-wise Providence has otherwise decreed. One of them—that citizen soldier, that warrior statesman, the Black Eagle of Illinois, has been summoned by the Silent Messenger to report to his old commander beyond the river; but John A. Logan—dead in the body—lives in the illuminated pages of his country's most splendid history—lives in the grateful love of a free people whose union he so gallantly fought to preserve—lives in the blessings of a downtrodden race whose freedom he so manfully struggled to achieve—lives in the future song and story of a hero-worshipping world; and along the highway of the nation's glory, side by side with old John Brown, Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant, his soul goes marching on. The other—that gallant leader, that chevalier of American politics, the glory of Republicanism and the nightmare of Democracy, our Henry of Navarre—is seeking in foreign travel needed relaxation and rest from the cares and responsibilities of long public life and service. With the infinite magnanimity of his incomparable greatness he has denied us the privilege of supporting him in this convention. Holding above all other things party harmony and success, he has stepped from the certain ladder of his laudable ambition that some other

man may climb to power. As his true friends we must not, dare not, commit the political crime of disobedience to his expressed will. We cannot place him at the head of the ticket, but we can make him commander-in-chief of the forces in the field, where he will be invincible. And though James G. Blaine may not be our President, yet he remains our uncrowned king, wielding the baton of acknowledged leadership, supreme in the allegiance of his devoted followers, honored and respected by all honest and loyal men—that greatest living American, and the worthy object of our undying love.

Upon the debate over the resolution assigning a certain number of seats for the use of veterans, Mr. W. N. Taft of South Carolina said:

It seems to me that, in view of the position taken by the Democratic party of this country, in view of the many pension bills that have been vetoed for the poor soldiers who marched into the South during the war, a Republican convention, representing the great people of this country—it seems to me that all the soldiers centered here, should immediately vote to suspend the rules, and admit these men to this convention. I was a soldier, and I know that every soldier in this country is loyal to-day to its flag. The country has but one issue, one grand issue, and that is the tariff; but there is another issue that will stare you in the face, and that is to take care of the widows and orphans and of the soldiers who lost their limbs in the service of their country. The Democratic party is upon record as against the soldier. It was against the soldier in 1861. It was against the soldier in 1865, and it is against the soldier to-day. When I look upon Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, and all those men who led us forward to victory, I think that the debt of the Republican party of this country is not so small that it can be paid by simply seating a few veterans in this convention. I see it is in the air all around me, and if I had my way, I would not only pay the debt, but allow them here. The convention at St. Louis, the Democratic Convention, seated 250, and let us be at least as generous as the Democratic party—the opponent and the enemy of the soldiers. I therefore move that the rules be suspended in order to adopt the resolution.

No objection was made to the decision of the Chair that the

request of the old soldiers be granted. Before the matter of appointment of committees was decided, the chairman said :

Gentlemen of the Convention : The Chair wishes to make an announcement. There is present in this room, as the guest of the Nebraska delegation, that eminent citizen, the first nominee of the Republican party for the office of President, and the Chair presents to you the request of that delegation that its chairman be given an opportunity to present Gen. Fremont to the convention. Is there any objection ? If not, the chairman of the delegation from Nebraska will come forward to the platform and perform that pleasant duty.

Mr. Charles Green, chairman of the Nebraska delegation, came to the platform and spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : More than thirty years ago the pioneers of Republicanism, assembled in Philadelphia, declared their political creed, and named their Presidential candidate. Thus "Freedom and Fremont" became the first battle-cry in that tremendous struggle in which the powers of darkness were marshaled against the hosts of light for the mastery of this Republic. Out of the chaos and conflict of that supreme controversy a new civilization has arisen from the ashes of the past, filling all the land with light and hope. Thousands, yea hundreds of thousands, of those who mustered at the first roll-call sleep in unremembered graves. In war and in peace, wherever duty called them, they bore the banner of the free, and asked no other meed of praise except an emancipated land. There were leaders, too, great men, gifted to be so, who from the humble walks of life by great and glorious deeds achieved immortal fame. The martyred Lincoln, from the righteousness of whose life we coin our highest aspirations; Grant, whose name is the most illustrious ever borne by living man; Logan, glorious in war, magnificent in peace, all sons of Illinois, are passed away. There were a few—a heroic few [Cries of "Fremont"]—there were a few—a heroic few—who were already known ere the doctrines of 1856 had been proclaimed—John Brown, whose death against Virginia's leaden sky fixed our star of hope and promise [Cries of "Fremont"], John C. Fremont; he has been steadfast

in the faith, and I present him to you now, gentlemen of the convention.

John C. Fremont was greeted with enthusiasm and addressed the convention briefly as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am unwilling to delay the business of the convention, and therefore I will occupy only a very few minutes of its time; but if I failed to respond to this splendid greeting I should feel that I carry an insensible clod, and not a warm, sympathetic heart, in my breast. I am sensibly grateful for your welcome. I am happy and proud to receive here in this great National assembly the welcome given by my friends and companions of many years, by my party friends, and by the men and the sons of the men with whom I had the conspicuous honor to be associated in our first opening campaign in 1856. It rejoices me now to see the party moving firmly forward on its natural ground of advanced opinion and action. I am glad to see it looking upon American interests and American industries from an American standpoint. The policy of the party has been a continuous one. Four years ago I was among the men who made the canvass of Michigan with Mr. Blaine. The same policy upon which the party stands to-day was then urged upon the warm-hearted and patriotic people of that State by him. If we had been successful in that election we should have had a distinctly American administration. I trust that this policy, erected as it is to the immediate interests of the people in their daily affairs, will soon bring the party to charge itself with the solution of the questions of labor, which are now chief in importance to-day. Success now will pave easily the way to important measures, and to a continuance of power. This present election will carry to the successful party the political power of the great Territories which are now awaiting admission. It is not too much to say that the conditions of the country justify the belief that the result of the election will be favorable, conclusively, to the Republican party. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, I am glad to receive to-day the evidence of your regard. I am happy to know that it has resisted the tests of time and that it has come down to me with all its old-time cordiality.

He was followed by calls for Mr. Frederick Douglass, who addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman : I had the misfortune last night to speak to a vast audience in the Armory, a little below here or above here, and broke my voice so that I feel wholly unable to address you, more than to express my thanks to you for the cordial welcome, the earnest call you have given me to this platform. I have only one word to say, and it is this : That I hope this convention will make such a record in its proceedings as to put it entirely out of the power of the leaders of the Democratic party and the leaders of the Mugwump party to say that they see no difference between the Republican party in respect to the class I represent and the Democratic party. I have great respect for a certain quality that I have seen distinguished in the Democratic party. It is the fidelity to its friends, its faithfulness to those whom it has acknowledged as its masters for the last forty years. They were faithful—I mean the Democrats were faithful—to the slave-holding class during the existence of Slavery. They were faithful before the war. They were faithful during the war. They gave them all the encouragement they possibly could without drawing their own necks into the halter. They were faithful during the period of reconstruction ; they have been faithful ever since. They are faithful to-day to the Solid South. I believe that the Republican party will prove itself equally faithful to its friends, and those friends during the war were men with black faces. They were legs to your maimed ; they were eyes to your blind ; they were shelter to your shelterless sons when they escaped from the lines of the rebels ; they are faithful to-day ; and when this great Republic was at its extremest need ; when its fate seemed to tremble in the balance, and the crowned heads and the enemies of Republican institutions were saying in Europe : “Aha, aha ! This great Republican bubble is about to burst” ; when your armies were melting away before the fire and pestilence of rebellion, you called upon your friends, your black friends ; when your Star Spangled Banner, now glorious, was trailing in the dust, heavy with patriotic blood, you called upon the negro, Abraham Lincoln called upon the negro, to reach out his iron arm and clutch with his steeled fingers your faltering banner ; and they came—they came 200,000 strong. Let us remember these black men in the platform that you are about to promulgate, and let us remember these black men now stripped of their constitutional right to vote for the grand standard-bearer whom you will present to the country. Leave these men no longer to wade to the ballot-box through blood, but extend over

them the arm of this Republic, and make their pathway to the ballot-box as straight and as smooth and as safe as any other citizen's. Be not deterred from duty by the cry of "bloody shirt." Let that shirt wave so long as blood shall be found upon it. A government that can give liberty in its constitution ought to have power to protect liberty in its administration. I will not take up your time. I have got my thoughts before you. I speak in behalf of the millions who are disfranchised to-day. I thank you.

The Committee on Permanent Organization was then announced, as well as the Committee on Credentials and the Committee on Resolutions, and also a Committee on Rules and Order of Business. The remainder of the day was taken up with a debate upon the credentials of delegates.

On the second day Mr. Charles Foster of Ohio, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the name of Morris M. Estee of California, for permanent president—the temporary secretaries and other officers to be permanent. Mr. Estee addressed the convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention : I thank you in the name of the States and Territories of the Pacific coast, as well as from my own heart, for the distinguished honor that you have seen fit to confer upon me. I appreciate to the fullest extent the grave responsibilities devolving upon me, and, it being a Republican convention, I shall ask in all things its charitable judgment and its candid and earnest support. Gentlemen of the convention, following so illustrious a gentleman as your Temporary Chairman, I shall not attempt to detain you by any lengthened speech. I only want to say to you that we live so far from the center of the Republic, over on the Pacific shore, that I cannot even guess who your nominee is going to be. Of course you all know. I say further to you, my friends and gentlemen of the convention, that I am not able to say exactly what your platform will be, but the people of the country have echoed its sentiments, and the rattle of the skirmish-line was heard only two weeks ago from Oregon, and, God willing, next November you will hear from Cleveland's Appomattox all over this great Republic. My friends and gentlemen of the convention, again, thanking you for the very high honor you have conferred upon me, and impressing you, I hope and pray, with the belief that our duties are the

gravest and most solemn in character, and trusting from the depth of my soul that every act may be done to promote the best interests of our common country, and to advance the great Republican party, I will call for the next order of business.

A considerable discussion ensued upon the report of the Committee on Rules, after which the convention adjourned till evening. At that session a resolution was passed expressing sympathy for Germany "in this hour of their great bereavement and deep sorrow caused by the death of their ruler, the Emperor, King Frederick of Germany." The following was then read and adopted, all the delegates rising in their places:

Whereas, It has pleased an All-wise Providence since the last National Republican Convention to remove from the scenes of earth four of America's most distinguished sons, whose names have been associated with her history during more than a quarter of a century, and whose distinguished military services, talents, private virtues and purity of character have shed glory upon her name; and

Whereas, It is becoming and proper that this Nation, whilst humbly bowing to the dispensations of Infinite Wisdom, should in such cases testify its sense of worth and exalted character of the illustrious dead by tributes of respect to their memories, and cherishing the recollections of their virtues; therefore be it

Resolved, By the National Republican Convention in meeting assembled, that it deplores the loss of Gens. U. S. Grant, John A. Logan, and Chester A. Arthur, who so often led our armies to victory, and of the Hon. Roscoe Conkling, the peerless statesman and citizen of New York, as a calamity both to the cause of Republican principles and the interest of the Nation.

The convention was then addressed by William O. Bradley of Kentucky and Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, after which the report of the Committee on Credentials was read, as was also a minority report of the same committee. A vigorous discussion then ensued, after which the convention adjourned until the following day.

On Thursday, the 21st, after the new national committee was made up, William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people, Abraham Lincoln, and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders, who have more recently been called away from our councils,—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished! We also recall, with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history of Republicans and of the Republic, the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of these great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution, and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories of the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot, and the just and equal representation of all the people, to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we

will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress opposing its passage. We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry. The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production, except luxuries, the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor, and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens, and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers,

not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about fifty millions of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretence of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union ; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, favorably to consider these bills is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered ; therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign and the people should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of the intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation ; therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine ; and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy ; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance, and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities ; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers ; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce ; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor ; activity to our various industries ; increase the security of our country ; promote trade ; open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal,—a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress towards our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protects him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights; it should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be, on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has

broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury, it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous services preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland, in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

During the closing hours of the convention the following resolution was unanimously adopted and became really a part of the platform:

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

The platform was adopted by a unanimous rising vote, after which the chairman announced that the order of business was the presentation of candidates for President of the United States. The roll of States was then called, when nominations were made as follows:

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Samuel Warner of Connecticut.

Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, by Leonard Swett of Illinois.

Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, by Albert G. Porter of Indiana.

The convention at 12.45 P.M. took a recess until 3 P.M. Additional names were presented, viz. :

William B. Allison of Iowa, by William P. Hepburn of Iowa.

Russell A. Alger of Michigan, by Robert E. Fraser of Michigan.

Chauncey M. Depew of New York, by Frank Hiscock of New York.

John Sherman of Ohio, by D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania.

Edwin H. Fitler of Pennsylvania, by Charles Emory Smith of Pennsylvania.⁴

Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin, by John C. Spooner of Wisconsin.

Mr. Gresham's nomination was seconded by Frank A. Davis of Minnesota, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, and John B. Rector of Texas. The nomination of Mr. Harrison was seconded by E. H. Terrell of Texas, and J. H. Gallinger of New Hampshire. The nomination of Mr. Allison was seconded by Benjamin M. Bosworth of Rhode Island. The nomination of Mr. Alger was seconded by Charles J. Noyes of Massachusetts, Patrick Egan of Nebraska, L. G. Estes of North Carolina, and L. F. Eggers, of Arizona. The nomination of Mr. Depew was seconded by G. G. Hartley of Minnesota. The nomination of John Sherman was seconded by Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, John M. Langston of Virginia, and John C. Darcey of North Carolina. In nominating Mr. Harrison, Governor Porter said, among other things :

Benjamin Harrison came to Indiana in 1854 at the age of twenty-one. He came poor in purse, but rich in resolution. No one ever heard him make a first reference to his ancestors. Self-reliant, he mounted the back of prosperity without the aid of a stirrup. The hospitality of his ancestors had given their property to those whom they had served. The core had gone to the people, the rind only

to them and their families. He received, indeed, something from them—their talents, their integrity, their fitness for public trusts, and what to some persons would have seemed a misfortune, but to a heart so stout as his was the highest good fortune, he received from them the inestimable legacy of penury. Upon his arrival in the State he entered at once upon the practice of law and immediately achieved success. Amplitude of preparation, a large view of questions, a mind marvelously prompt in yielding up its stores, and so exhaustive in its power of reasoning that no argument that would help his cause was ever found to have been omitted—these gave him rank at once in his profession. In union with these was found a fairness that sought no mean advantages and an integrity that never could be shaken. The young lawyer leaned on nobody's arm for help. Modest, but self-confident, his manner seemed to say, "I am an honest tub, standing on its own bottom." It was perceived from the start that in web and woof he was of heroic stuff. While he was engaged in the practice of the law and was rapidly rising to distinction, the great rebellion raised its head to strike down the Union. Relinquishing his profession, its emoluments, and the fame to which it was beckoning him, he yielded to the imperative demand of duty, raising a regiment and receiving from Morton the commission of Colonel. He marched with Sherman to the sea; he was in the thick of the fight at Resaca and Atlanta, and his gallantry and the efficiency of his well disciplined command were so conspicuous on those fields as to draw from the heroic Hooker, in a letter to the Secretary of War, the highest possible commendations of his industry as a disciplinarian, and skill and intrepidity as a soldier. . . . He has taken a part as a public speaker in every Presidential campaign since he came into Indiana, except the one that occurred during his service in the army, and he threw his sword into that. In recognition of his services in the ardent and prolonged struggles of the Republican party for the rights of man and for the restoration and integrity of the Union, the Republicans in the Legislature of 1881 chose him to be a Senator of the United States. I have not time to enter into any detailed narration of his services in the Senate. His rank was among the highest. There is no need that I should strive to dwarf others in order that Gen. Benjamin Harrison may stand conspicuous. He stands breast to breast with the foremost of Indiana's soldiers; distinguished also in civic trusts; heroically faithful to public duty; skillful in marshalling men, to the sound of

whose bugle they quickly rally and fall into ranks, whom they have followed in fierce canvasses, and more than once to the desperate charge crowned with victory.

Mr. Gallinger in seconding the nomination of Mr. Harrison said, among other things:

Gentlemen, the little State which I in part represent was one of the original States of this Union. New Hampshire has no favorite son to present at this convention. True, New Hampshire has a score of men who, in point of public experience, in point of education and culture, would make an infinitely better President than the man who occupies the Executive chair to-day. New Hampshire is content, so far as this convention is concerned, to modestly point to the laurels of her past. She recalls before this magnificent presence the fact that she gave to this Nation of ours a Levi Woodbury, a John Stark, a Daniel Webster, a Salmon P. Chase, a Horace Greeley, a John P. Hale, a William Pitt Fessenden, a John A. Dix, a Nathaniel B. Baker, and a Zachariah Chandler; and although Massachusetts claimed in his latter years the peerless Webster as her own; although the great State of Ohio took to her arms that magnificent Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase; although New York claimed Horace Greeley; although Iowa did honor to Baker of illustrious memory, and although the great imperial State of Michigan claimed that great man who led the Republican hosts to victory on many a hard-fought field—Zachariah Chandler—yet the little State of New Hampshire has the right, before the assembled intelligence of the Republican party of this country, to feel proud of the fact that she gave to the Nation the grand men whose names I have mentioned this moment. New Hampshire gave her electoral vote in 1856, in common with all the other New England States, to that noble man and intrepid leader whose voice was heard from this platform two days ago—Gen. John C. Fremont. And in every quadrennial contest since, New Hampshire has been true to the principles and politics of the Republican party. Her delegates come here to-day to join hands with the delegates from other States, to select from among the illustrious men whose names are presented to this convention a victorious standard bearer for the campaign of 1888. And I say to this convention, that no matter who is nominated, every Republican in the little State of New Hampshire, true to the party and true to the principles of justice,

of equality, and of liberty, will rally to the polls to help elect that man President of the United States.

After the nominating speeches were concluded, the convention adjourned till Friday, June 22d. On the fourth day the balloting for a candidate for President of the United States took place, resulting as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
John Sherman, Ohio.....	229	249	244	235	224	244	231	118
Walter Q. Gresham, Indiana.....	111	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
Chauncey M. Depew, New York...	99	99	91					
Russell A. Alger, Michigan.....	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
Benjamin Harrison, Indiana.....	80	91	94	217	213	231	278	544
William B. Allison, Iowa.....	72	75	88	88	99	73	76	
James G. Blaine, Maine.....	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
John J. Ingalls, Kansas.....	28	16						
Jeremiah M. Rusk, Wisconsin....	25	20	16					
William W. Phelps, New Jersey...	25	18	5					
E. H. Fitler, Pennsylvania.....	24							
Joseph R. Hawley, Connecticut...	13							
Robert T. Lincoln, Illinois.....	3	2	2	1			2	
William McKinley, Jr., Ohio.....	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
Samuel F. Miller, Iowa.....			2					
Frederick Douglass.....				1				
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio.....				1		1	1	
Frederick D. Grant, New York....						1		
Creed Haymond, California.....							1	
Whole number of votes.....	830	830	830	829	827	830	831	830
Necessary for a choice.....	416	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

After three ballots had been taken the convention took a recess till the evening, when Mr. Depew withdrew his name, and adjournment was then taken till the following day. Before the fourth ballot was taken Mr. McKinley withdrew his name, although votes were cast for him on every succeeding ballot. At the conclusion of the fifth ballot a recess was taken till evening, but no further balloting was done till Monday, June 25th. On that day the sixth, seventh, and eighth ballots were taken, at the conclusion of which the nomination of Benjamin Harrison was made unanimous by a rising vote. Mr. Boutelle, of Maine, in speaking on the motion that the nomination of Mr. Harrison be made unanimous, said:

Now, Mr. President, the solution of this great problem having been so satisfactorily reached, I feel a great pleasure in giving assurance, if assurance could be necessary, of the heartiness, the cordiality, and the enthusiasm with which the people of the State of Maine will ratify and second the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana; and I will say further to you, what is more practical, that in the Star of the East, where for twenty-five years the burden of battle has first rested upon us, and where our people at every Presidential election have borne the standard of battle first to the front, and first planted it upon the ramparts of victory, we will this year of our Lord emulate the history of our past, and to the people of this country we will send out such a message as will recall the refrain of that olden day when another Harrison was in the field, and the country from one end to the other was calling out:

Oh, have you heard the news from Maine,
How she went hell-bent
For Governor Kent,
And Tippecanoe and Tyler, too?

And in the canvass, while that glorious refrain is rolling over the country, I pledge you, Mr. President and gentlemen of this convention, that in the forefront of the battle shall be found gleaming, as in every critical fight of the Republican party, the white plume of our Henry of Navarre, James G. Blaine.

Some score of other speeches were made, pledging cordial support to the nominee.

William O. Bradley of Kentucky was then nominated for Vice-President by Mr. George Denny of that State. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Albert Griffin of Kansas, William Warner of Alabama, L. C. Houk of Tennessee, and R. D. Locke of Georgia. After recess John W. Griggs of New Jersey nominated William Walter Phelps of that State, whose nomination was seconded by W. H. Gibson of Ohio, D. B. Henderson of Iowa, Patrick Egan of Nebraska, J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, A. J. Rosenthal of Texas, G. M. Bulla of North Carolina, Charles A. Boutelle of Maine, William E. Sims of Virginia, and Charles H. Treat of Delaware. Levi P. Morton of New York was then nominated by Senator Warner Miller of the same State. The nomination was seconded by

Henry T. Gage of California, Charles Foster of Ohio, James R. Hallowell of Kansas, D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania, P. F. Oliver of South Carolina, and B. F. Marsh of Illinois. William R. Moore of Tennessee was nominated and his nomination was seconded, but as Mr. Moore withdrew his name before the vote was taken, the balloting was confined mostly to Morton, Phelps, and Bradley. The ballot resulted as follows.

Whole number	826
Necessary to a choice.....	414
Morton	592
Phelps.....	119
Bradley.....	103
Blanche K. Bruce.....	11
Walter S. Thomas.....	1

Mr. Morton's nomination was then made unanimous, and the convention adjourned without day.

The Democrats held their national convention at St. Louis on the 5th of June. The renomination of President Cleveland was universally conceded, and yet there was a great gathering of Democrats from both North and South. S. M. White of California was chosen as temporary chairman, and Patrick A. Collins of Massachusetts was made permanent president of the convention. When the platform was framed there was a contest over the plank endorsing the Mills bill. Although there was a strong sentiment in favor of a declaration for "Tariff Reform," yet many were opposed to an approval of the bill then pending in the House of Representatives. The minority, however, yielded and the report of the committee was unanimous. The endorsement of the Mills bill, however, was not made a portion of the platform proper, but in one of three subsequent resolutions adopted by the convention it was

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

There was no formal vote for a candidate for President.

The name of President Cleveland was presented to the convention by Daniel Dougherty, and his nomination by acclamation followed unanimously. The only names which came before the convention as candidates for the Vice-Presidency were Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, Isaac P. Gray of Indiana, and John C. Black of Illinois. The vote on a formal ballot was, for Thurman, 690; for Gray, 105; and for Black, 25. Ex-Senator Thurman was then given the unanimous nomination.

Beginning with the 15th of May, there were held at Cincinnati two conventions by the two factions of the Labor party known respectively as the "Union Labor party" and "United Labor party." At the former Alson J. Streeter of Illinois was nominated for President by acclamation, and Samuel Evans of Texas was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot. At the latter convention Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois was nominated for President and W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas for Vice-President.

The Prohibition National Convention was held at Indianapolis on May 30th. H. C. Delano of Connecticut was temporary chairman, and ex-Governor John P. St. John of Kansas, the permanent president of the convention. General Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey was nominated by acclamation for President, and John A. Brooks of Missouri for Vice-President.

A convention of the so-called American party was held at Washington on the 14th of August. A portion of the delegates withdrew on the second day of the convention and held a convention of their own, but made no nominations. The members left completed their work by adopting a platform and nominating for President, James Langdon Curtis of New York, and for Vice-President, James R. Grier of Tennessee. Mr. Grier, however, declined the nomination.

Other minor conventions were held during the year, one at Washington, D. C., on February 22d, by the Industrial Reform party, which nominated Albert E. Redstone of California for President, and John Colvin of Kansas, for Vice-President. At Des Moines, Iowa, on May 15th the National Equal Rights party nominated Belva Lockwood of Washington, D. C., for

President, and Alfred H. Love of Philadelphia, for Vice-President. The latter declined the nomination, and Charles Stuart Wells was substituted. On July 16th the grand council of the Independent Labor party met at Detroit and voted to support the Republican candidates. Only eight delegates were present at Cincinnati on September 12th at the national convention of the Greenback party, and no nominations were made.

The campaign which followed, while an important one, was not so exciting or accompanied by the personalities of that of four years earlier. The Tariff was the paramount and almost the only issue, the Democrats generally holding up the Mills bill as an example of their principles, while its provisions were riddled and ridiculed by the Republican orators and the Republican press. The result was at all times in doubt, it being conceded that it must be determined in the States of New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Connecticut. On October 24th a letter was published purporting to be written by one Charles F. Murchison of Pomona, California, to the British Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville West. The writer claimed that though he was a naturalized citizen of the United States, yet he was of English birth and considered England the mother land. The apparent purpose of the letter was to ask the advice of the British Minister regarding the political situation and as to how the writer should vote at the coming election. The letter contained gross reflections upon the conduct of the United States Government in respect to unsettled controversies between this country and Great Britain, and indirectly imputed insincerity in such conduct. The British Minister, who easily fell into the trap set for him, replied as follows:

TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

(Private.)

BEVERLY, MASS., Sept. 13, 1888.

Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst., and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present

moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of this fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and is still as desirous in settling all questions with Canada, which have been unfortunately reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate, and by the President's message, to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation, should he be elected; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I enclose an article from the *New York Times* of August 22, and remain,

Yours faithfully,

L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

From the *New York Times*, Aug. 22.

There is this further consideration in favor of supporting the Administration on this issue. It will leave the question still open for friendly means of settlement of some kind, while a support of the Senate's position would close all avenues of future negotiations, and bring upon the country the disastrous consequences of retaliation, hostility and possible war. It would put an end to all prospect of improving the commercial relations of the United States and Canada. This is one of the questions which the people will keep in mind in casting their votes next November.

The correspondence was made much of by the Republicans. President Cleveland, on the ground that the British Minister was interfering with the internal politics of the country, called the attention of Lord Salisbury to the matter, and, the British Premier taking no action, the President directed that the British Minister be informed that he was no longer *persona grata*, and that his passports were ready for him. No other Minister was appointed by Great Britain to take the place of Lord Sackville West during the remainder of Mr. Cleveland's administration. The incident, which was perhaps unduly magnified, undoubtedly made votes for the Republican candidates, as it emphasized the contention that the Democratic party in its Tariff views were favorable to British and hostile to American interests. Mr. Blaine took an active part in the canvass, speaking to large audiences, not only in his own State but in

the West. The popular and electoral vote will be found on the following page, as given in Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, the totals being approximately correct, though in the various published tables there is a slight difference between the total vote given for the different candidates. Stanwood says:

The count of electoral votes following this election was the first to take place under the act of February 3, 1887, and the first in the history of the government under the Constitution which was regulated by a general law, and did not require previous concurrent action by the two Houses of Congress for the time being. The joint convention for counting the votes was held in the hall of the House of Representatives on February 13, 1889. The proceedings were devoid of striking incident. Mr. Cox, of New York, called attention to a slight deviation from the precise requirements of the law. It appears that Mr. Ingalls, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, who presided, did not "call for objections, if any," after the reading of each certificate, as directed by section four of the law. The official report of the proceedings does not state whether or not the presiding officer changed his method after attention was called to the matter. When the vote of Indiana was reported, the vote of the President-elect's own State, there was applause, which was quickly suppressed. Mr. Manderson, the first of the Senate tellers, reported the state of the vote in detail, and in a summary; the presiding officer repeated the summary, and added a formula, drawn from the law, that this announcement of the state of the vote "is, by law, a sufficient declaration" that Benjamin Harrison, of the State of Indiana, had been elected President, and Levi P. Morton, of the State of New York, Vice-President for the ensuing term.

With the success of the presidential ticket the Republicans were also successful in the congressional elections, and it was found that Mr. Harrison would have with him a Republican Senate and House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress.

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Benjamin Harrison, Indiana	Grover Cleveland, New York	Clinton B. Fisk, New Jersey	Alson J. Streeter, Illinois	Harrisoff and Morton	Cleveland and Thurman
Alabama	56,197	117,320	583			10
Arkansas	58,752	85,592	641	10,613		7
California ¹	124,816	117,729	5,761		8	
Colorado	50,774	37,567	2,191	1,266	3	
Connecticut	74,584	74,920	4,234	240		6
Delaware	12,973	16,414	400			3
Florida	26,657	39,561	423			4
Georgia	40,496	100,499	1,808	136		12
Illinois ²	370,473	348,278	21,695	7,090	22	
Indiana	263,361	261,013	9,881	2,694	15	
Iowa	211,598	179,887	3,550	9,105	13	
Kansas	182,934	103,744	6,768	37,726	9	
Kentucky	155,134	183,800	5,225	622		13
Louisiana	30,484	85,032	160	39		8
Maine	73,734	50,481	2,691	1,344	6	
Maryland	99,986	106,168	4,767			8
Massachusetts	183,892	151,856	8,701		14	
Michigan	236,370	213,459	20,942	4,541	13	
Minnesota	142,492	104,385	15,311	1,094	7	
Mississippi	30,096	85,471	218	22		9
Missouri	236,257	261,974	4,539	18,632		16
Nebraska	108,425	80,552	9,429	4,226	5	
Nevada	7,229	5,362	41		3	
New Hampshire	45,728	43,458	1,593	13	4	
New Jersey	144,344	151,493	7,904			9
New York ³	648,759	635,757	30,231	626	36	
North Carolina	134,784	147,902	2,787	32		11
Ohio	416,054	396,455	24,356	3,496	23	
Oregon	33,291	26,522	1,677	363	3	
Pennsylvania	526,091	446,633	20,947	3,873	30	
Rhode Island	21,968	17,530	1,250	18	4	
South Carolina	13,736	65,825				9
Tennessee	138,988	158,779	5,969	48		12
Texas	88,422	234,883	4,749	29,459		13
Vermont	45,192	16,785	1,460		4	
Virginia	150,438	151,977	1,678			12
West Virginia	77,791	79,664	669	1,064		6
Wisconsin	176,533	155,232	14,277	8,552	11	
Total	5,439,853	5,540,329	246,506	146,935	233	168

¹ 1591 for Curtis, American.² 150 for Cowdrey, United Labor.³ 2268 for Cowdrey.

CHAPTER IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON—THE McKINLEY BILL—SHERMAN SILVER PURCHASE AND ANTI-TRUST LAWS.

BEFORE leaving the first administration of Mr. Cleveland there should be mentioned the unsuccessful attempt of the Democratic party to fasten upon previous Republican administrations the taint of corruption. During the campaign of 1884, the Republican party had been charged with financial dishonesty, and the Democratic orators promised that if their candidates should be successful startling revelations would take place. No doubt these assertions carried considerable weight and influence with some voters,—perhaps enough to defeat Mr. Blaine and elect Mr. Cleveland.

The Republican party had been in power since 1861, a period of twenty-four years. It had been a period of most important legislation, of vast transactions by the Treasury, and of many minor scandals in the different departments. As soon, then, as Mr. Cleveland and his Cabinet could get to work a most remarkable examination and auditing of financial accounts took place in all the departments. This examination covered the whole period from March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1885. Experts were employed for many months in the most minute examination of accounts and vouchers, and though the search was made with untiring zeal and an unconcealed anxiety to discover some sign of administrative crookedness, yet when every possible search was concluded and the reports were made, it was found that not a single penny had been stolen or misappropriated. Most of the measures of Mr. Cleveland's term had originated under previous administrations. The law which

required the restoration of public lands forfeited by certain railroads was enacted during President Arthur's administration, June 28, 1884, and yet the Democratic platform of 1888 mentioned it as if it had originated during Mr. Cleveland's administration. This is a single instance of many similar claims for the first administration of Cleveland, which should be credited to previous administrations.

The second session of the Fiftieth Congress convened on Monday, December 8, 1888. President Cleveland in his fourth annual message called attention to the fact that "with the expiration of the present session of the Congress the first century of our constitutional existence as a nation will be completed." A few paragraphs were given to the "iniquities" of the Tariff by asserting that a few were favored at the expense of the mass of workingmen. The President showed evidence of his disappointment at being defeated for re-election in almost every paragraph of his message. Portions were clearly contradictory to truth and fact, but for the most part it passed unheeded to the archives of similar papers. The most important action of this session of Congress was the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington as States.

Benjamin Harrison was inaugurated as President of the United States on March 4, 1889, the civic display equalling if not surpassing all former demonstrations. The following Cabinet appointments were submitted to the Senate and promptly confirmed: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor of Vermont; Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller of Indiana; Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy of New York; Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble of Missouri; Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin.

The following diplomatic and consular appointments were made during the year: Minister to Great Britain, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois; Minister to France, Whitelaw Reid of New York; Minister to Germany, in the first place Murat

Halstead of Ohio, whom the Senate refused to confirm, and subsequently William Walter Phelps of New Jersey; Minister to Mexico, Thomas Ryan of Kansas; Minister to Austria, Frederick D. Grant of New York; Minister to Turkey, Solomon Birsch of Oregon; Minister to Brazil, Robert Adams, Jr., of Pennsylvania; Minister to Russia, Allen Thorndike Rice of New York, who died in May; Minister to the Argentine Republic, John R. G. Pitkin of Louisiana; Minister to the Netherlands, Samuel R. Thayer of Minnesota; Minister to Sweden and Norway, William W. Thomas, Jr., of Maine; Minister to China, Charles Denby of Indiana; Minister to Italy, Albert G. Porter of Indiana; Minister to Chili, Patrick Egan, of Nebraska; Minister to Spain, Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan; Minister to Japan, John F. Swift of California; Minister to Belgium, Edwin H. Terrell of Texas; Minister to Peru, John Hicks of Wisconsin; Minister to Venezuela, William L. Scruggs of Georgia; Minister to Colombia, John T. Abbott of New Hampshire; Minister to the Central American States, Lansing B. Mizner of California; Minister to Bolivia, Thomas H. Anderson of Ohio; Minister to Denmark, John A. Enander of Illinois, and subsequently Clark E. Carr of Illinois; Minister to Portugal, George B. Loring of Massachusetts; Minister to Hayti, Frederick Douglass of the District of Columbia; Minister to Persia, E. Spencer Pratt of Alabama; Minister to Switzerland, John D. Washburn of Massachusetts; Minister to Corea, Hugh A. Dinsmore of Arkansas; Minister to Liberia, Ezekiel E. Smith of North Carolina; Minister to Roumania, Servia, and Greece, A. Loudon Snowden of Pennsylvania; Minister to Siam, Jacob T. Child of Missouri; Minister to the Hawaiian Islands, John L. Stevens of Maine; Minister to Paraguay and Uruguay, George Maney of Tennessee; Consul-General at London, John C. New of Indiana; Consul-General at Berlin, William Hayden Edwards of Ohio; Consul-General at Vienna, Julius Goldschmidt of Wisconsin; Consul-General at St. Petersburg, John M. Crawford of Ohio; Consul-General at Shanghai, Joseph A. Leonard of Minnesota.

The principal appointments in the civil service were as

follows : Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, George S. Batchellor of New York, and George C. Tichenor, of Illinois; Commissioner of Pensions, James Tanner of New York, and after his retirement, Green B. Raum of Illinois; Commissioner of Internal Revenue, John W. Mason of West Virginia; Commissioner of the Patent Office, Charles E. Mitchell of Connecticut; First Assistant Postmaster-General, James S. Clarkson of Iowa; First Comptroller of the Treasury, Asa C. Matthews of Illinois; Commissioner of the General Land Office, Lewis A. Groff of Nebraska; First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, George Chandler of Kansas; Solicitor of the Treasury, William P. Hepburn of Iowa; Commissioner of Railroads, Horace A. Taylor of Wisconsin; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Edwin Willits of Michigan; Second Assistant Postmaster-General, Smith A. Whitfield of Ohio; Assistant Secretary of State, William F. Wharton of Massachusetts; U. S. Treasurer, James N. Huston of Indiana; Comptroller of the Currency, Edward S. Lacey of Michigan; Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, William M. Meredith of Illinois; Second Comptroller of the Treasury, Benjamin F. Gilkeson of Pennsylvania; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan of Rhode Island; Solicitor-General, Orlow W. Chapman of New York; Civil Service Commissioners, Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Hugh S. Thompson of South Carolina; Supervising Architect of the Treasury, James H. Windrim of Pennsylvania. As Postmaster of New York, in the place of Henry G. Pearson, who term expired in April, Cornelius Van Cott was appointed. Ellis H. Roberts of New York was given the post of Assistant United States Treasurer at New York. In the collectorship of the Custom House at New York, Joel B. Erhardt succeeded Mr. Magone. On the death of Justice Stanley Matthews of the Supreme Court, the President appointed David J. Brewer of Kansas as his successor.

The first session of the Fifty-first Congress met on Monday, December 2, 1889. The Senate was composed of 47 Republicans and 37 Democrats, while the House contained 170 Republicans and 160 Democrats. The House organized by electing Thomas B. Reed of Maine, Speaker. He received

166 votes against 154 votes cast for John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, and one for Amos J. Cummings of New York. The President in his first annual message said, among other things:

The existence of so large an actual and anticipated surplus should have the immediate attention of Congress, with a view to reducing the receipts of the Treasury to the needs of the Government as closely as may be. The collection of moneys not needed for public uses imposes an unnecessary burden upon our people, and the presence of so large a surplus in the public vaults is a disturbing element in the conduct of private business. It has called into use expedients for putting it into circulation of very questionable propriety. We should not collect revenue for the purpose of anticipating our bonds beyond the requirements of the sinking fund, but any unappropriated surplus in the Treasury should be so used, as there is no other lawful way of returning the money to circulation, and the profit realized by the Government offers a substantial advantage. . . .

I recommend a revision of our Tariff law, both in its administrative features and in the schedules. The need of the former is generally conceded, and an agreement upon the evils and inconveniences to be remedied and the best methods for their correction will probably not be difficult. Uniformity of valuation at all our ports is essential, and effective measures should be taken to secure it. It is equally desirable that questions affecting rates and classifications should be promptly decided.

The preparation of a new schedule of customs duties is a matter of great delicacy because of its direct effect upon the business of the country, and of great difficulty by reason of the wide divergence of opinion as to the objects that may properly be promoted by such legislation. Some disturbance of business may perhaps result from the consideration of this subject by Congress, but this temporary ill effect will be reduced to the minimum by prompt action and by the assurance which the country already enjoys that any necessary changes will be so made as not to impair the just and reasonable protection of our home industries. The inequalities of the law should be adjusted, but the protective principle should be maintained and fairly applied to the products of our farms as well as of our shops. These duties necessarily have relation to other things besides the public revenues. We cannot limit their effects by fixing our eyes on the public Treasury alone. They have a direct relation

to home production, to work, to wages, and to the commercial independence of our country, and the wise and patriotic legislator should enlarge the field of his vision to include all of these.

The necessary reduction in our public revenues can, I am sure, be made without making the smaller burden more onerous than the larger by reason of the disabilities and limitations which the process of reduction puts upon both capital and labor. The free list can very safely be extended by placing thereon articles that do not offer injurious competition to such domestic products as our home labor can supply. The removal of the internal tax upon tobacco would relieve an important agricultural product from a burden which was imposed only because our revenue from customs duties was insufficient for the public needs. If safe provision against fraud can be devised, the removal of the tax upon spirits used in the arts and in manufactures would also offer an unobjectionable method of reducing the surplus.

Referring to the Civil Service Commission and the need for more efficient work and a more general reform in the civil service, the President said :

On the 4th of March last the Civil Service Commission had but a single member. The vacancies were filled on the 7th day of May, and since then the commissioners have been industriously, though with an inadequate force, engaged in executing the law. They were assured by me that a cordial support would be given them in the faithful and impartial enforcement of the statute and of the rules and regulations adopted in aid of it.

Heretofore the book of eligibles has been closed to every one, except as certifications were made upon the requisition of the appointing officers. This secrecy was the source of much suspicion, and of many charges of favoritism in the administration of the law. What is secret is always suspected ; what is open can be judged. The commission, with the full approval of all its members, has now opened the list of eligibles to the public. The eligible lists for the classified post-offices and custom houses are now publicly posted in the respective offices, as are also the certifications for appointments. The purpose of the civil-service law was absolutely to exclude any other consideration in connection with appointments under it than that of merit as tested by the examinations. The business proceeds upon the theory that both the examining boards and the appointing

officers are absolutely ignorant as to the political views and associations of all persons on the civil-service lists. It is not too much to say, however, that some recent congressional investigations have somewhat shaken public confidence in the impartiality of the selections for appointment.

The reform of the civil service will make no safe or satisfactory advance until the present law and its equal administration are well established in the confidence of the people. It will be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to see that the law is executed with firmness and impartiality. If some of its provisions have been fraudulently evaded by appointing officers, our resentment should not suggest the repeal of the law, but reform in its administration. We should have one view of the matter, and hold it with a sincerity that is not affected by the consideration that the party to which we belong is for the time in power.

Touching upon the so-called race question, the President was quite outspoken, and that part of his message will be of particular interest in 1904:

The colored people did not intrude themselves upon us; they were brought here in chains and held in the communities where they are now chiefly found by a cruel slave code. Happily for both races, they are now free. They have, from a standpoint of ignorance and poverty, which was our shame, not theirs, made remarkable advances in education and in the acquisition of property. They have, as a people, shown themselves to be friendly and faithful toward the white race, under temptations of tremendous strength. They have their representatives in the national cemeteries where a grateful Government has gathered the ashes of those who died in its defence. They have furnished to our regular army regiments that have won high praise from their commanding officers for courage and soldierly qualities, and for fidelity to the enlistment oath. In civil life they are now the toilers of their communities, making their full contribution to the widening streams of prosperity which these communities are receiving. Their sudden withdrawal would stop production and bring disorder into the household as well as the shop. Generally they do not desire to quit their homes, and their employers resent the interference of the emigration agents who seek to stimulate such a desire.

But, notwithstanding all this, in many parts of our country where

the colored population is large the people of that race are, by various devices, deprived of any effective exercise of their political rights and of many of their civil rights. The wrong does not expend itself upon those whose votes are suppressed. Every constituency in the Union is wronged.

It has been the hope of every patriot that a sense of justice and of respect for the law would work a gradual cure of these flagrant evils. Surely, no one supposes that the present can be accepted as a permanent condition. If it is said that these communities must work out this problem for themselves, we have a right to ask whether they are at work upon it. Do they suggest any solution? When and under what conditions is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he, in fact, to have those full civil rights which have so long been his in law? When is that equality of influence which our form of government was intended to secure to the electors to be restored? This generation should courageously face these grave questions, and not leave them as a heritage of woe to the next. The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness, and great patience; upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty. No question in our country can be at rest except upon the firm basis of justice and of the law.

Referring to our merchant marine the President said:

There is nothing more justly humiliating to the national pride, and nothing more hurtful to the national prosperity, than the inferiority of our merchant marine compared with that of other nations whose general resources, wealth, and sea-coast lines do not suggest any reason for their supremacy on the sea. It was not always so, and our people are agreed, I think, that it shall not continue to be so. It is not possible in this communication to discuss the causes of the decay of our shipping interests, or the differing methods by which it is proposed to restore them. The statement of a few well authenticated facts and some general suggestions as to legislation is all that is practicable. That the great steamship lines sailing under the flags of England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and engaged in foreign commerce, were promoted, and have since been and now are liberally aided, by grants of public money, in one form or another, is generally known. That the American lines of steamships have been abandoned by us to an unequal contest with the aided lines of other nations until they

have been withdrawn, or, in the few cases where they are still maintained, are subject to serious disadvantages, is matter of common knowledge.

The present situation is such that travellers and merchandise find Liverpool often a necessary intermediate port between New York and some of the South American capitals. The fact that some of the delegates from South American states to the conference of American nations now in session at Washington reached our shores by reversing that line of travel is very conclusive of the need of such a conference, and very suggestive as to the first and most necessary step in the direction of fuller and more beneficial intercourse with nations that are now our neighbors upon the lines of latitude, but not upon the lines of established commercial intercourse.

I recommend that such appropriations be made for ocean mail service in American steamships between our ports and those of Central and South America, China, Japan, and the important islands in both of the great oceans as will be liberally remunerative for the service rendered, and as will encourage the establishment and in some fair degree equalize the chances of American steamship lines in the competitions which they must meet. That the American states lying south of us will cordially co-operate in establishing and maintaining such lines of steamships to their principal ports I do not doubt.

We should also make provision for a naval reserve to consist of such merchant ships, of American construction and of a specified tonnage and speed, as the owners will consent to place at the use of the Government, in case of need, as armored cruisers. England has adopted this policy, and as result can now, upon necessity, at once place upon her naval list some of the fastest steamships in the world. A proper supervision of the construction of such vessels would make their conversion into effective ships of war very easy.

One of the first incidents of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress was the adoption of the policy of Speaker Reed in refusing to entertain dilatory motions and in counting a quorum to include all members present though not voting. A bitter contest ensued over the adoption of the new rules, but the Speaker was successful, and to a greater or less extent his ruling has been continued in operation since by Speakers of

both parties. For his action he was at first termed "tyrannical" and given the title of "Czar," which clung to him as a friendly appellation till his death.

On April 16, 1890, Mr. McKinley of Ohio, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a bill "to equalize duties upon imports, and to reduce the revenues of the Government." The bill was at once known as the McKinley bill, and the subsequent law, as enacted, has since been known as the McKinley law or the Tariff law of 1890. When the measure was brought up for discussion in the House on May 7th, Mr. McKinley opened the debate by saying:

If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy, as promulgated in the Republican platform and heretofore inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party, should be secured in any fiscal legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in the great contest and upon that mastering issue. I have interpreted that victory to mean, and the majority in this House and in the Senate to mean, that a revision of the Tariff was not only demanded by the votes of the people, but that such revision should be on the line and in full recognition of the principle and purposes of protection. The people have spoken; they want their will registered and their decree embodied in public legislation.

The bill which the Committee on Ways and Means have presented is their answer and interpretation of that victory and in accordance with its spirit and letter and purpose. . . .

The Tariff part of the bill contemplates and proposes a complete revision. It not only changes the rates of duty, but modifies the general provisions of the law relating to the collection of duties. These modifications have received the approval of the Treasury Department, and are set forth in detail in the report of the committee, and I will not weary this committee in restating them here. A few of the more important changes, however, are deserving our attention.

There has been for many years a provision in the law permitting the United States to import for its use any article free of duty. Under this provision gross abuses have sprung up, and this exemption from duty granted the United States has served as an open doorway to frauds upon our revenue and unjustifiable discriminations against our own producers.

Not only has the Government imported supplies from abroad, but its officers, agents, and contractors have been held to enjoy the same privilege, which has been exercised to the injury of our own citizens. The result has been that supplies imported by contractors for governmental work have, in many instances, been in excess of the demand for such public work and been applied to other and different ones.

This provision of law has been eliminated in the proposed revision, and if approved by the House and Senate and the President, the Government, its officers, agents, and contractors, will hereafter have to pay the same duties which its citizens generally are required to pay. Your committee have been actuated in this by the belief that the Government should buy what it needs at home; should give its own citizens the advantage of supplying the United States with all its needed supplies, and that the laws which it imposes upon its own people and taxpayers should be binding upon the Government itself.

This committee have also fixed a limit upon the amount and value of personal effects accompanying the passenger returning from foreign travel to \$500. It has been too common for citizens of the United States visiting other countries to supply themselves not only for their immediate uses but for future uses and for the uses of their friends, and there has heretofore been no limit to the amount and value of foreign articles which could be brought in free of duty under the designation of "personal effects" if accompanied by the returning passenger.

The practical effect of this provision was that the wealthy classes who were able to visit distant countries secured exemption from the payment of duties, while the average citizen unable to go abroad was compelled to pay a duty upon the articles which he might want to use. The limit of \$500 is believed to be sufficient for all honest purposes.

We have also introduced a new provision in the bill which requires that foreign merchandise imported into the United States shall be plainly stamped with the name of the country in which such articles are manufactured. There has been a custom too general in some foreign countries to adopt American brands to the injury of our own manufacturers. Well-known articles of American production with high reputation have been copied by the foreigner and then by the addition of the American brand or American marks

have fraudulently displaced American manufacture, not in fair competition, but under false pretences. The counterfeit has taken the place of the genuine article, and this we propose to stop.

Section 49 of the bill provides that goods, wares, and merchandise and all articles manufactured in whole or in part in any foreign country by convict labor shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is prohibited. Nearly if not all of the States of the Union have laws to prevent the products of convict labor in the State penitentiaries from coming in competition with the product of the free labor of such States. The committee believed that the free labor of this country should be saved from the convict labor of other countries, as it has been from the convict labor of our own States, and so recommend this provision. It will be of small account to protect our workmen against our own convict labor and still admit the convict-made products of the world to free competition with our free labor.

By way of encouraging exportation to other countries and extending our markets, the committee have liberalized the drawbacks given upon articles or products imported from abroad and used in manufactures here for the export trade. Existing law refunds 90 per cent. of the duties collected upon foreign materials made into the finished product at home and exported abroad, while the proposed bill will refund 99 per cent. of said duties, giving to our citizens engaged in this business 9 per cent. additional encouragement, the Government retaining only 1 per cent. for the expenses of handling.

We have also extended the drawback provision to apply to all articles imported which may be finished here for us in the foreign market. Heretofore this privilege was limited. This, it is believed, will effectually dispose of the argument so often made that our tariff on raw materials, so called, confines our own producers to their own market and prevents them from entering the foreign market, will furnish every opportunity to those of our citizens desiring it to engage in the foreign trade.

Now, the bill proposes that the American citizen may import any product he desires, manufacture it into the finished article, using in part, if necessary, in such manufacture domestic materials, and when the completed product is entered for export refunds to him within 1 per cent. of all the duty he paid upon his imported mate-

rials. That is, we give to the capital and labor of this country substantially free trade in all foreign materials for use in the markets of the world. We do not require that the product shall be made wholly of the foreign material. Already, under special provisions of laws and regulations of the treasury department, parts of a finished product made here and attached to the finished article do not deprive the exporter of his drawback. We have extended this provision and in every way possible liberalized it, so that the domestic and foreign product can be combined and still allow to the exporter 99 per cent. upon the duty he pays upon his foreign material intended for export; which is, in effect, what free traders and our political opponents are clamoring for—namely, free raw material for the foreign trade. And if you are desirous of seeing what you can do in the way of entering the foreign market, here is the opportunity for you.

Mr. McKinley then followed with an exhaustive explanation of the bill which had been for months under consideration by the Ways and Means Committee, which was composed as follows: McKinley, Ohio; Burrows, Michigan; Dingley, Maine; Payne, New York; Bayne, Pennsylvania; McKenna, California; La Follette, Wisconsin; Gear, Iowa; Carlisle, Kentucky; Mills, Texas; Breckinridge, Arkansas; McMillin, Tennessee; Flower, New York. Every section of the country was represented quite equally. New England had one member of the committee; Pennsylvania, one; New York, two (a Republican and a Democrat); the Western States, five; and the Southern States, four. The committee held open sessions, and a hearing was given to interests from all parts of the country. The statements of importers and other representatives of foreign industries were received and given consideration. Mr. McKinley concluded his speech as follows:

We lead all nations in agriculture, we lead all nations in mining, and we lead all nations in manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a protective Tariff. Can any other system furnish such evidences of prosperity? Yet in the presence of such a showing of progress there are men everywhere found who talk about the restraints we put upon trade and the

burdens we put upon the enterprise and energy of our people. There is no country in the world where individual enterprise has such wide and varied range and where the inventive genius of man has such encouragement.

There is no nation in the world, under any system, where the same reward is given to the labor of men's hands and the work of their brains as in the United States. We have widened the sphere of human endeavor and given to every man a fair chance in the race of life and in the attainment of the highest possibilities of human destiny.

To reverse this system means to stop the progress of the republic and reduce the masses to small rewards for their labor, to longer hours and less pay, to the simple question of bread and butter. It means to turn them from ambition, courage, and hope to dependence, degradation, and despair. No sane man will give up what he has got, what he is in possession of, what he can count on for himself and his children, for what is promised by your theories.

Free trade, or, as you are pleased to call it, "revenue Tariff," means the opening up of this market, which is admitted to be the best in the world, to the free entry of the products of the world. It means more—it means that the labor of this country is to be remitted to its earlier condition, and that the condition of our people is to be leveled down to the condition of rival countries; because under it every element of cost, every item of production, including wages, must be brought down to the level of the lowest paid labor of the world. No other result can follow, and no other result is anticipated or expected by those who intelligently advocate a revenue Tariff. We can not maintain ourselves against unequal conditions without the Tariff, and no man of affairs believes we can.

Under the system of unrestricted trade which you gentlemen recommend, we will have to reduce every element of cost down to or below that of our commercial rivals or surrender to them our own market. No one will dispute that statement, and to go into the domestic market of our rivals would mean that production here must be so reduced that with transportation added we could undersell them in their own market, and to meet them in neutral markets and divide the trade with them would mean that we could profitably sell side by side with them at their minimum price.

First, then, to retain our own market under the Democratic system of raising revenue by removing all protection would require

our producers to sell at as low a price and upon as favorable terms as our foreign competitors. How could that be done? In one way only, by producing as cheaply as those who would seek our markets. What would that entail? An entire revolution in the methods and condition and conduct of business here, a leveling down through every channel to the lowest line of our competitors; our habits of living would have to be changed, our wage cut down 50 per cent. or upward, our comfortable homes exchanged for hovels, our independence yielded up, our citizenship demoralized.

These are conditions inseparable to free trade; these would be necessary if we would command our own market among our own people, and if we would invade the world's markets harsher conditions and greater sacrifices would be demanded of the masses. Talk about depression, we would then have it in its fullness. We would revel in unrestrained trade. Everything would be indeed cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation which would ensue! When merchandise is the cheapest men are the poorest, and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country—ay, in all human history—have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest measured by labor. We want no return of cheap times in our own country. We have no wish to adopt the conditions of other nations. Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours and for the present and the future the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design, and will work out our destiny better than any other.

Mr. Mills of Texas made the principal speech in opposition to the measure. He began as follows:

There are two opposing opinions supported by the two opposing parties into which the people of the United States are divided, with reference to the proper construction of laws imposing taxes on imports. The Democratic party maintains that taxes should be imposed on such articles and at such rates as will bring the required revenue for an honest and economical administration of the Government with the least possible restrictions upon importations, and least possible limitation upon exportation, and the least possible interference with the private business of the people.

The Republican party maintains that taxation ought to be imposed on such articles and at such rates as will produce the largest

possible restriction on importation consistent with the production of the necessary revenues for the support of the Government. With the Republican party the primary object in imposing taxes upon imports is, in the frank language of the committee who have reported this bill, to check importation. The secondary object is to obtain the required revenue from the smallest amount of importation and as far as possible from competing articles.

The bill which the committee have reported is a bold and unequivocal declaration of that doctrine; and, while we have heard all through our history the advantages of protection against competition proclaimed by its advocates, this bill is the first in the history of the Government that has come before the American people with its mask thrown off and with the audacity of a highwayman demanding that the people shall throw up their hands and surrender their purses.

A bounty upon the protection of sugar was provided for in the bill, concerning which Mr. Mills said:

Mr. Chairman, there is another new feature in this most extraordinary bill. Our friends have started the policy of giving a bounty on production. Where did they get the money which they dispense with such lavish prodigality? Is it from their own pockets? Is it their own money? Did they make it by their own labor? How many drops of sweat have they poured out over these dollars that they propose to take by the million from the Treasury and throw at the feet of their favorites? Where did it come from? It was extorted from the pockets of the poor laboring people of the country by excessive rates of taxation which they have not hesitated to still further advance. And they now give \$7,000,000 as a bounty for the production of sugar.

Well, the people of this country who are raising corn and cotton and wheat and oats and hogs and beeves will all step up to the counter and say: "We will take sugar in ours, too." I want to see you give this bounty, and when you do you will slip away from it worse than you did from hides; I want to see you give it, and if the American people do not take hides off you, I will be mistaken. Yes, they will put every Republican hide on the free list.

Why not give bounty to the people who are burning their corn for fuel in Kansas? They need your help. No man now dares to rise here and speak for the State of Kansas as was done two years

ago, when it was said that the farmers of Kansas were in the very heyday of their prosperity and were all getting rich. We do not hear those fine speeches any more. Egyptian darkness is all around them now. No ray of light can penetrate the thick veil that shrouds the land. Bankruptcy stares every farmer in the face, and, dark as is the night, he can see its repulsive features and feel the cold touch of its hand.

His speech, which was considered a great effort by his Democratic colleagues, concluded as follows:

Gentlemen, you can pass your bill. You can pass it when you please; but whenever it does pass it will have a Hell Gate to go through after it leaves the House and Senate. There is a whirlpool with sunken rocks beneath the surface of the water through which your little craft will have to sail. The American people have intelligence, and they have been perfected through suffering. And they are ready now, and in the proper frame of mind, to take the scorpion's lash and drive the money-changers from their temple.

On May 21st the bill was passed by the House, the votes being, yeas, 164, nays, 142, not voting, 21. On May 23d the measure was referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate, and on June 18th Senator Morrill of Vermont, of that committee, reported it back with amendments. On June 19th the President sent a message to Congress which enclosed a report from Secretary Blaine concerning the necessity for reciprocity treaties between the United States and other Republics of this hemisphere. On September 9th Mr. Aldrich of Rhode Island offered an amendment embodying the suggestion of the Secretary of State regarding reciprocity, which was adopted by a vote of 37 to 28, 19 not voting. On September 10th the bill as amended was passed in the Senate by a vote of 40 to 29, 15 not voting. The House non-concurred in the Senate amendments, and a conference committee was appointed which reported on September 26th. The report, which included the reciprocity features, was agreed to by both Houses, and the measure was approved by the President, October 1, 1890.

A measure authorizing the issue of Treasury notes upon deposits of silver bullion was introduced into the House by Mr.

Conger of Iowa, January 29, 1890, and referred to the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, which reported it back March 26th. On June 7th a substitute, which had been agreed upon at a Republican caucus was adopted instead of the original measure, and passed in the House by a vote of 135 to 119, 73 not voting. The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "An act to direct the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of silver notes thereon, and for other purposes." On reaching the Senate it was amended by the passage of a substitute on June 18th, providing among other things for the free coinage of silver, and the title of the measure was again changed to read: "A bill to provide for the free coinage of silver bullion and other purposes." The vote in the Senate on the passage of this bill was 42 yeas to 25 nays, 17 not voting. The debate in both Houses had been prolonged and earnest, and when the substitute bill was returned to the House from the Senate a struggle ensued over its reference. The Speaker referred it to the committee which had originally reported the measure, while the advocates of free coinage, distrusting the committee, were eager to have a direct vote in the House at once. On June 25th the question of concurring in the Senate amendments was put to the House and they were non-concurred in by a vote of 135 to 152, 40 not voting. A conference committee was then appointed and agreed upon the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments to said bill and agree to the following in the nature of a substitute: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25

grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury in such form and of such denominations, not less than \$1 nor more than \$1,000, as he may prescribe, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"Sec. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be re-issued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion, and the standard silver dollar coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national banking association, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

"Sec. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

"Sec. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

"Sec. 5. That so much of the act of Feb. 28, 1878, entitled 'An

act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as required the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, is hereby repealed.

"Sec. 6. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of the national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the Treasurer of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the Treasury the circulating notes of said banks which may come into his possession subject to redemption; and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as 'National bank notes: Redemption account,' but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 5 per cent. of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest.

"Sec. 7. That this act shall take effect thirty days from and after its passage."

The report was adopted by the Senate on July 10th by a vote of 39 to 26, 19 not voting. The House adopted the report July 12th by a vote of 112 yeas to 90 nays. The President approved the measure July 14th. The bill has since been known as the Sherman law or the Coinage act of 1890.

On April 8, 1890, the Senate passed the following measure entitled, "A bill to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies":

Sec. 1. Every contract, combination in form of trust or other-

wise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade of commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any Territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade of commerce between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory or Territories and any State or States or the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree; the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

Sec. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section 4 of this act may be pending that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpoenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

Sec. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section 1 of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one State to another, or to a foreign country, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure, and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Sec. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover three-fold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Sec. 8. That the word "person" or "persons," wherever used in this act shall be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the Territories, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country.

The House passed the measure on May 1st, but amended it so as to make unlawful every contract or agreement entered into for the purpose of preventing competition in the sale or purchase of a commodity transported from one State to be sold in another. The Senate then amended the House amendment, and the House non-concurred. A conference committee was appointed and failed to agree; but a second conference committee reported on June 18th to the effect that both Houses recede from their respective amendments, leaving the bill as originally passed. This was done, and the bill went to the President and was approved July 2d. This bill too is called the Sherman law or the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

On May 29th the President approved of a bill providing:

That all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids, transported into any State or Territory, or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale or storage therein, shall upon arrival in such State or Territory be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory, enacted in the exercise of its police powers, to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquors or liquids had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise.

A measure to amend the lottery laws was also passed and approved by the President. A measure providing for Federal elections took much of the attention of this session of Congress and was debated most earnestly, but failed to come up for final action in either House.

Idaho and Wyoming were admitted as States, the former on July 2d, and the latter on July 11th.

A Land-Grant Forfeiture law was passed by both Houses and was approved by the President on September 29th, providing for the forfeiture of certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads.

The second session of the Fifty-first Congress began on December 1, 1890. The President in his message defended the Tariff law which had recently gone into operation, and spoke encouragingly of the anticipated results. A bill providing for international copyright, originally introduced in 1887, was passed and approved by the President on March 3, 1891. A new apportionment of Representatives, based upon the census of 1890, was made. An immigration bill passed the House on February 25th and was passed by the Senate two days afterwards, being approved by the President March 3d. An attempt to pass a free coinage act was successful in the Senate, but the bill was reported adversely in the House by the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. The Federal Election bill which had been debated so acrimoniously in the first session was again taken up in the second session; but it was clearly the design of the Democrats to talk against time

rather than permit the bill to come to a vote. An attempt to enforce a cloture system failed, and the election bill, which had become known as the "Force bill," was side-tracked and failed to become a law.

The death of Justice Samuel F. Miller of the Supreme Court created a vacancy which the President filled by appointing Judge Henry B. Brown of Michigan. Robert Adams, Jr., was nominated Minister to Brazil on January 30th, and confirmed by the Senate on February 11th. Charles Emory Smith was nominated Minister to Russia on February 10th. Adam E. King of Maryland, was appointed Consul-General at Paris on July 3d. On September 26th the President sent in the name of E. Burd Grubb of New Jersey, as Minister to Spain, and that of Edwin H. Conger, of Iowa, as Minister to Brazil, Mr. Adams having resigned, and both appointments were promptly approved by the Senate. As members of the International Railway Commission he nominated, on September 29th, A. J. Cassatt of Pennsylvania, George M. Pullman of Illinois, and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia. For the vacant Portuguese legation he selected, on September 30th, George S. Batchellor of New York. William Windom, the Secretary of the Treasury, died January 29, 1891. On February 21st, the President sent to the Senate the nomination of ex-Governor Charles Foster of Ohio to be Secretary of the Treasury, and also that of Martin A. Knapp of New York, as Interstate Commerce Commissioner. In August Joel B. Erhardt resigned as Collector of the Port of New York and was succeeded by J. Sloat Fassett. The latter soon after resigned, however, to accept the nomination for Governor of New York, made by the Republican State Convention on September 9th and Francis Hendricks was appointed as his successor. On September 18th President Harrison issued a proclamation opening to settlement and homestead pre-emption on September 22d the land ceded to the Government by the Indians, forming the eastern part of Oklahoma, and on that date sixty thousand persons entered the reservation.

During 1891, the Italian Government withdrew her Minister from this country because of the failure of New Orleans courts

to convict certain murderers of Italian residents of that city. The provocation of the criminals had been great because of the murder of the chief of police of that city, and a long period of rioting and pillage. At last the Italians were arrested and incarcerated, but a mob broke into the jail and killed several of them. It was for the arrest and punishment of these lynchers that Italy made such decided demands. The matter finally was adjusted by our Government consenting to make compensation to the widows and orphans of the dead Italians.

War with Chili was for a time threatened during the latter part of 1891, because of the action of the United States Minister to that country. During a civil war which waged between the President and the Congress, the American Minister had offered his official residence as a place of security to the defeated President and his friends. The same action was taken by other Ministers, but it was claimed that our Minister had shown undue friendliness toward the President, and given him unwarranted assistance. The seamen from an American man-of-war were attacked on the streets of Valparaiso, two of them being killed. Our Government demanded an apology, and President Harrison sent a full statement of the affair to Congress, but after some delay Chili sent a "conciliatory and friendly" message, and the matter was soon forgotten.

Reciprocity treaties, provided for under the McKinley law, were concluded and proclaimed as follows: With Brazil, February 5, 1891; with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico, July 31st; with Santo Domingo, August 1st; with Salvador, December 31st; with Great Britain for British Guiana, Trinidad, Tobago, Barbadoes, and the Leeward and Windward Islands, excepting Grenada, February 1, 1892; with Germany, February 1st; with Nicaragua, March 12th; with Honduras, April 12th; with Guatemala, May 18th; and with Austria-Hungary, May 26th. On March 26, 1892, an extradition treaty between France and the United States was signed at Paris. On April 18, 1892, Secretary Blaine and Sir Julian Pauncefote signed a convention which was confirmed by the Senate on the following day, providing for arbitration concerning the dispute

between the United States and Great Britain with regard to the killing of seals in the Bering Sea. The United States Government on April 21, 1892, extended an invitation to the Governments of commercial nations to take part in an international conference on bimetallism. The principal Governments of Europe accepted, although Great Britain and some others declared at the same time that they could not be bound by any conclusions reached by the conference. The following delegates were selected to represent the United States: Senators William B. Allison of Iowa and John P. Jones of Nevada; Congressman James B. McCreary of Kentucky; E. O. Leech, Director of the Mint; E. Benjamin Andrews, President of Brown University; Ronald P. Falkner of the University of Pennsylvania; H. W. Cannon, President of the Chase National Bank, and James T. Morgan, Thomas T. Keller, and Thomas W. Cridler. The conference met on November 22d at Brussels, Belgium. It was soon found that it would be impossible to reach any harmonious action and the conference adjourned until May 12, 1893.

In December the Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, resigned to serve out the unexpired term of Senator George F. Edmunds. Stephen B. Elkins was then appointed as Secretary of War.

The first session of the Fifty-second Congress met on Monday, December 7, 1891. The Senate was composed of 47 Republicans and 39 Democrats and 2 classed as Farmers' Alliance. The House of Representatives was composed of 236 Democrats, 88 Republicans, and 8 Farmers' Alliance. The House organized on December 8th by electing Charles F. Crisp of Georgia, Speaker, he having received 228 votes against 83 for Mr. Reed, and 8 for Thomas E. Watson of Georgia. In the Democratic caucus preceding the organization of the House, Mr. Crisp had received 119 votes to 105 for Mr. Mills of Texas, 2 for Mr. Springer of Illinois, and 1 for Mr. Stevens of Massachusetts. The President in his annual message to Congress gave considerable attention to the Isthmian Canal, quoting the words of Senator Morgan of Alabama that "the canal is the most important subject now connected with the

commercial growth and progress of the United States." Regarding the Tariff the President said:

The general interest in the operations of the Treasury Department has been much augmented during the last year by reason of the conflicting predictions, which accompanied and followed the Tariff and other legislation of the last Congress affecting the revenues, as to the results of this legislation upon the Treasury and upon the country. On the one hand it was contended that imports would so fall off as to leave the Treasury bankrupt and that the prices of articles entering into the living of the people would be so enhanced as to disastrously affect their comfort and happiness, while on the other it was argued that the loss to the revenue, largely the result of placing sugar on the free list, would be a direct gain to the people; that the prices of the necessities of life, including those most highly protected, would not be enhanced; that labor would have a larger market and the products of the farm advanced prices; while the Treasury surplus and receipts would be adequate to meet the appropriations, including the large exceptional expenditures for the refunding to the States of the direct tax and the redemption of the 4½ per cent. bonds.

It is not my purpose to enter at any length into a discussion of the effects of the legislation to which I have referred; but a brief examination of the statistics of the Treasury and a general glance at the state of business throughout the country will, I think, satisfy any impartial inquirer that its results have disappointed the evil prophecies of its opponents and in a large measure realized the hopeful predictions of its friends. Rarely, if ever before, in the history of the country has there been a time when the proceeds of one day's labor or the product of one farmed acre would purchase so large an amount of those things that enter into the living of the masses of the people. I believe that a full test will develop the fact that the Tariff act of the Fifty-first Congress is very favorable in its average effect upon the prices of articles entering into common use. . . .

There is certainly nothing in the condition of trade, foreign or domestic, there is certainly nothing in the condition of our people of any class, to suggest that the existing Tariff and revenue legislation bears oppressively upon the people or retards the commercial development of the nation. It may be argued that our condition

would be better if Tariff legislation were upon a free-trade basis; but it can not be denied that all the conditions of prosperity and of general contentment are present in a larger degree than ever before in our history, and that, too, just when it was prophesied they would be in the worst state. Agitation for radical changes in Tariff and financial legislation cannot help but may seriously impede business, to the prosperity of which some degree of stability in legislation is essential.

I think there are conclusive evidences that the new Tariff has created several great industries which will, within a few years, give employment to several hundred thousand American working men and women. In view of the somewhat overcrowded condition of the labor market of the United States, every patriotic citizen should rejoice at such a result.

Referring to the silver question the President said:

I am still of the opinion that the free coinage of silver under existing conditions would disastrously affect our business interests at home and abroad. We could not hope to maintain an equality in the purchasing power of the gold and silver dollar in our own markets, and in foreign trade the stamp gives no added value to the bullion contained in coins. The producers of the country, its farmers and laborers, have the highest interest that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. If there is one less valuable than another its sure and constant errand will be to pay them for their toil and for their crops. The money-lender will protect himself by stipulating for payment in gold, but the laborer has never been able to do that. To place business upon a silver basis would mean a sudden and severe contraction of the currency, by the withdrawal of gold and gold notes, and such an unsettling of all values as would produce a commercial panic. I cannot believe that a people so strong and prosperous as ours will promote such a policy.

The producers of silver are entitled to just consideration. But they should not forget that the Government is now buying and putting out of the market what is the equivalent of the entire product of our silver mines. This is more than they themselves thought of asking two years ago. I believe it is the earnest desire of a great majority of the people, as it is mine, that a full coin use shall

be made of silver just as soon as the co-operation of other nations can be secured and a ratio fixed that will give circulation equally to gold and silver. The business of the world requires the use of both metals; but I do not see any prospect of gain, but much of loss, by giving up the present system, in which a full use is made of gold and a large use of silver, for one in which silver alone will circulate. Such an event would be at once fatal to the further progress of the silver movement. Bimetallism is the desired end, and the true friends of silver will be careful not to overrun the goal and bring in silver monometallism, with its necessary attendants, the loss of our gold to Europe and the relief of the pressure there for a larger currency. I have endeavored by the use of official and unofficial agencies to keep a close observation of the state of public sentiment in Europe upon this question, and have not found it to be such as to justify me in proposing an international conference. There is, however, I am sure, a growing sentiment in Europe in favor of a larger use of silver, and I know of no more effectual way of promoting this sentiment than by accumulating gold here. A scarcity of gold in the European reserves will be the most persuasive argument for the use of silver.

Concerning the work of the Civil Service Commission the President said :

The report of the Civil Service Commission should receive the careful attention of the opponents as well as the friends of this reform. The commission invites a personal inspection by Senators and Representatives of its records and methods; and every fair critic will feel that such an examination should precede a judgment of condemnation, either of the system or its administration. It is not claimed that either is perfect, but I believe that the law is being executed with impartiality, and that the system is incomparably better and fairer than that of appointments upon favor. I have during the year extended the classified service to include superintendents, teachers, matrons, and physicians in the Indian service. This branch of the service is largely related to educational and philanthropic work, and will obviously be the better for change.

The heads of the several executive departments have been directed to establish at once an efficiency record as the basis of a comparative rating of the clerks within the classified service, with a

view to placing promotions therein upon the basis of merit. I am confident that such a record, fairly kept and open to the inspection of those interested, will powerfully stimulate the work of the departments, and will be accepted by all as placing the troublesome matter of promotions upon a just basis.

I recommend that the appropriations for the Civil Service Commission be made adequate to the increased work of the next fiscal year.

The President concluded his very able message as follows :

I have been greatly rejoiced to notice many evidences of the increased unification of our people and of a revived national spirit. The vista that now opens to us is wider and more glorious than ever before. Gratification and amazement struggle for supremacy as we contemplate the population, wealth, and moral strength of our country. A trust, momentous in its influence upon our people and upon the world, is for a brief time committed to us, and we must not be faithless to its first condition—the defense of the free and equal influence of the people to the choice of public officers and in the control of public affairs.

A bill to encourage American shipbuilding was passed by the House of Representatives, May 2, 1892, and by the Senate, May 9th, being approved by the President May 11th. The bill was as follows :

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to grant registers, as vessels of the United States to such foreign-built steamships now engaged in freight and passenger business, and sailing in an established line from a port in the United States, as are of a tonnage of not less than 8,000 tons, and capable of a speed not less than 20 knots per hour, according to the existing method of Government test for speed, of which not less than 90 per cent. of the shares of the capital of the foreign corporation or association owning the same was owned Jan. 1, 1890, and has continued to be owned until the passage of this act by citizens of the United States, including as such citizens corporations created under the laws of any of the States thereof, upon the American owners of such majority interest obtaining a full and complete transfer and title to such steamships from the foreign

corporations owning the same: *Provided*, That such American owners, shall, subsequent to the date of this law, have built, or have contracted to build, in American shipyards, steamships of an aggregate tonnage of not less in amount than that of the steamships so admitted to registry. Each steamship so built or contracted for to be of a tonnage of not less than 7,000 tons.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury, on being satisfied that such steamships so acquired by American citizens, or by such corporation or corporations as above set forth, are such as come within the provisions of this act, and that the American owners of such steamships, for which an American registry is to be granted under the provisions hereof, have built or contracted to build in American shipyards steamships of an aggregate tonnage as set forth in the first section hereof, shall direct the bills of sale or transfer of the foreign-built steamships so acquired to be recorded in the office of the collector of customs of the proper collection district, and cause such steamships to be registered as vessels of the United States by said collector. After which, each of such vessels shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of a vessel of the United States, except that it shall not be employed in the coastwise trade of the United States.

Sec. 3. That no further or other inspection shall be required for the said steamship or steamships than is now required for foreign steamships carrying passengers under the existing laws of the United States, and that a special certificate of inspection may be issued for each steamship registered under the act; and that before issuing the registry to any such steamship as a vessel of the United States the collector of customs of the proper collection district shall cause such steamship to be measured and described in accordance with the laws of the United States, which measurement and description shall be recited in the certificate of registry to be used under this act.

Sec. 4. That any steamships so registered under the provisions of this act may be taken and used by the United States as cruisers or transports upon payment to the owners of the fair actual value of the same at the time of the taking; and if there shall be a disagreement as to the fair actual value at the time of taking between the United States and the owners, then the same shall be determined by two impartial appraisers, one to be appointed by each of said parties, who, in case of disagreement, shall select a

third the award of any two of the three so chosen to be final and conclusive.

A considerable time of the session was taken up in Tariff discussions, and several measures passed the House, notably one to place wool on the free list and reduce the duties on woollen goods. Another was to admit, free of duty, bagging of cotton, machinery for manufacturing bagging, cotton ties, and cotton-gins. Another bill passed the House "to reduce the duty on tin plate, terne plate, and taggers' tin," and to repeal the tin-plate paragraph of the McKinley law. Other minor Tariff laws were passed by the House, accompanied by prolonged discussions and speeches valuable for the statistical information compiled and presented. These acts were called by the Republican majority "pop-gun bills," as the Democrats knew that they had no chance of being passed or even considered by the Republican Senate.

Early in the session a debate upon the subject of free coinage was inaugurated on the introduction by Senator Stewart of Nevada of a bill for "the free coinage of gold and silver bullion and for other purposes." After months of debate upon the measure the following substitute was adopted and passed in the Senate by a vote of 29 to 25, 35 not voting:

Be it enacted, etc., That the owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint of the United States to be coined for his benefit, and it shall be the duty of the proper officers, upon the terms and conditions which are provided by law for the deposit and coinage of gold, to coin such silver bullion into the standard dollars authorized by the act of Feb. 28, 1878, entitled "An Act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal tender character," and such coins shall be a legal tender for all debts and dues, public and private. The act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," is hereby repealed. *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Treasury shall proceed to have coined all the silver bullion in the Treasury purchased with silver or coin certificates.

In the House on February 10th a bill was introduced for the

free coinage of gold and silver. On March 22d it came up for discussion, and on March 24th a test vote was made upon the motion of Mr. Burrows of Michigan to lay the bill upon the table. The motion was lost, the vote of the Speaker making a tie. The subject could not be brought before the House again, except through a report from the Committee on Rules, setting apart a day for its disposal. On July 13th, Mr. Catchings of Mississippi introduced a resolution from the Committee on Rules providing for immediate consideration of the free coinage measure passed by the Senate. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 136 to 154, 39 not voting. The free coinage question therefore, which had consumed months of the time of both Senate and House came to naught for that session.

Toward the end of the session a considerable discussion ensued over the Pinkerton detectives, and their action at the Homestead riots. A presidential campaign was approaching, and it was evident that the Democrats were eager to throw upon the Republicans, and particularly the Protective Tariff, the blame for all labor disturbances in general, and the riots at Homestead in particular. There is no doubt in the judgment of the writer that the speeches made during the closing days of this session of Congress upon the subject, and repeated afterwards on the stump by the Democratic orators and echoed by the Democratic press, were one of the causes of the defeat of General Harrison for re-election, which led to such disastrous results in the following years. On August 2d the Senate passed the following resolution:

That a select committee of seven Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report to the Senate the facts in relation to the employment for private purposes of armed bodies of men or detectives in connection with differences between workmen and employers, such investigation to include the facts in relation to the existence and employment generally of such or similar armed bodies of men or detectives in the United States since their first organization or appearance therein.

The investigation shall extend to and embrace the reasons for the creation of such organized bodies of armed men, their character and uses; also as to where, when, how, and by whom such

men have been employed and paid for any services they may have rendered, and under what authority of law, if any, they have been so employed and paid.

In addition to the testimony and conclusions of fact, the committee will consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation, if any, is necessary to prevent further unlawful use or employment of such armed bodies of men or other similar armed bodies for private purposes, and also for the more effective organization and employment of the *posse comitatus* in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States for the maintenance and execution of the laws.

Said committee, either as a full committee or through sub-committee thereof, shall have authority to send for persons and papers, administer oaths to witnesses, and take testimony in Washington or elsewhere, according to its discretion, during the present session or the approaching recess of Congress, and to employ a clerk, messenger, and stenographer; the expenses of the investigation to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

No action on the matter was taken in the House.

The only change in the Cabinet that took place in 1892 was the appointment of John W. Foster of Indiana, as Secretary of State to succeed James G. Blaine, who resigned on June 4th. On March 1, 1892, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of the McKinley Tariff act. Justice Joseph P. Bradley of the Supreme Court died on January 22d, his place being filled by the appointment of George Shiras, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

In the diplomatic service the principal appointments were the following: Frederick H. Grant of Washington, Minister to Bolivia; Rowland B. Mahany of New York, Minister to Ecuador; T. Jefferson Coolidge of Massachusetts, Minister to France, in the place of Whitelaw Reid, resigned; Frank L. Coombs of California, Minister to Japan; Andrew D. White of New York, Minister to St. Petersburg; A. Loudon Snowden of Pennsylvania, Minister to Spain; David P. Thompson of Oregon, Minister to Turkey; William D. McCoy of Indiana, Minister Resident at Monrovia, Liberia; and Watson R. Sperry of Delaware, Minister Resident at Teheran, Persia.

CHAPTER X.

CONVENTIONS OF 1892—THE "HIGH PRICES" CAMPAIGN— DEMOCRATS ELECT PRESIDENT AND BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

THE Republican National Committee met at Washington, D. C., on the 21st of November, 1891, and after considering the claims of several cities issued a call for the Republican National Convention to be held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the 7th day of June, 1892. On that day the tenth Republican National Convention was called to order by James S. Clarkson, chairman of the Republican National Committee. After prayer had been offered, and the call for the convention read by M. H. De Young of California, Chairman Clarkson announced that the Republican National Committee recommended for temporary chairman J. Sloat Fassett of New York. Mr. Fassett on taking the chair said, among other things:

The history of our party since 1856 is the history of our country. There is not a single page which does not shine with greater lustre because of some words or some deed of some great Republican inscribed thereon. Count me over our chosen heroes, the men whom you and I are teaching our children to love, emulate, and revere, and they shall be Republicans, every one, Lincoln, Seward, Grant. When the spirit of Republicanism fills a man, it seems to have the power of transfiguration. These men are great. These men will always remain great, because of their growth in the line of devotion to Republican doctrine and Republican principles.

Sherman, Garfield, Logan, Harrison, and Blaine; these are a few only of our jewels, and we may proudly turn upon our Democratic

friends and utter the defiant challenge, *Match them!* Of all the vast array of Democratic orators and men who have spoken against these men, as each, one by one, rose higher and higher in public esteem, there is not one who would not give his sword arm if he could name one of them as a Democrat,—only one.

Name me over the great masterpieces of constructive and progressive legislation enacted since the civil war, and you shall find the author and finisher of each to be a Republican. From the measures of reconstruction, to the measures of modified protection and reciprocity, each name along down the list belongs to us. He is of the household of our faith.

Loud calls were then heard for "Reed," and Thomas B. Reed of Maine addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens: I want to add in the presence of this vast audience my hearty expression of faith in the future of the Republican party. Its past needs the endorsement of no man. That has the endorsement of history, for the deeds of the Republican party are history itself. And while we are prevented from pointing with pride to the achievements of our party on account of our tenderness for the Democracy, nevertheless we sit here to-day rejoicing that our past history shows that from our birth until now our character has been such that it is a guaranty of the magnificent future which we are sure to have. It is true that we have done great things, but it is equally true that we have no right to rest upon them. Our past is glorious, but our future ought to be more so. It is true that we have given to this great country a wonderful physical prosperity. It is true that wealth has been poured into the laps of all our people by the great system which we believe in, and which we have carried out, and I say to you to-day that there is a nobler future, even than having given prosperity to a country, before the Republican party. And that nobler future is to give to every citizen of the United States the liberty of speech and action. Wealth and prosperity are noble, but human liberty is magnificent.

The rest of the day was taken up with the announcement of the various committees.

On the second day, D. C. Lockwood of Idaho, chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, recommended for permanent president of the convention William McKinley of

Ohio. The committee further recommended for permanent secretary of the convention Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota, and for Chief Reading Clerk Charles F. Hancy, also of Minnesota. The temporary force of assistant secretaries, clerks, and stenographers were then made permanent officers of the convention. Mr. McKinley, on taking the chair, addressed the convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I thank you for the honor of presiding over the Tenth National Convention of the Republican party. Republican conventions mean something. They have always meant something. Republican conventions say what they mean and mean what they say. They declare principles, and policies, and purposes, and when entrusted with power, execute and enforce them. The first National Convention of the Republican party, thirty-six years ago, was held in the city of Philadelphia. The platform of that great convention reads to-day more like inspiration than the affirmation of a political party. Every provision of that great instrument made by the fathers of our party are on the public statutes of our country to-day. Every one of them has been embodied into public law, and that cannot be said of the platform of any other political organization in this or in any other country of the world. Whenever there is anything to be done in this country, and by this country, and for this country, the Republican party is called upon to do it. There is one thing that can be said about our organization that cannot be said about any other; it can look backward without shame or humiliation, and it can look forward with cheer and exultation. That cannot be said of any political organization other than ours in the United States. Gentlemen of the Convention, we are here to-day to make a platform and a ticket that will commend themselves to the conscience and the intelligence and the judgment of the American people.

We are for a protective Tariff and reciprocity. We propose to take no backward step upon either one of these great Republican principles. We stand for a protective tariff because it represents the American home, the American fireside, the American family, the American girl, and the American boy, and the highest possibilities of American citizenship. We propose to raise our money to pay public expenses by taxing the products of other nations, rather than

by taxing the products of our own. The Democratic party believe in direct taxation, that is, in taxing ourselves; but we don't believe in that principle so long as we can find anybody else to tax.

Our protective Tariff not only does everything which a revenue Tariff can do in raising all needed revenues, but a protective Tariff does more than that. A protective Tariff encourages and stimulates American industries and gives the widest possibilities to American genius and American effort. Does anybody know what Tariff reform is? And that is to be the platform of our political opponents this year. What does it mean? You can study President Cleveland's utterances from the first one he made in New York, when he said he did not know anything about the Tariff, until his last in Rhode Island, and you come away ignorant and uninformed as to what Tariff reform means. Since the war there have been three great Tariff reform bills proposed by the Democratic leaders, none of them alike, neither of them with the same free list, neither of them with the same Tariff list, neither of them with the same rates of duty, and all made by the Democratic party upon the same principle to symbolize and represent Tariff reform.

You may go to Mr. Mills, you may go to Mr. Springer, and you will find they differ totally; you may go to the House of Representatives at Washington, which was elected distinctively upon what they call a Tariff reform issue, with two-thirds majority in the House, and what do you find? They passed three bills. Let me name them. First, free tin plate, leaving sheet steel, from which it is made, tariffed; that is, the finished product free and the raw material bearing a duty. Second, free wool to the manufacturer, and tariffed cloth to the consumer. Third, free cotton ties to the cotton States, and tariffed hoop iron to all the rest of the States. That is their idea of Tariff reform. Gentlemen of the Convention, how do you like it? This contest that we enter upon is for the maintenance of protection and reciprocity; and I want to say here that there is not a line in that Tariff bill that is not American; there is not a paragraph that is not patriotic; there is not a page that does not represent true Americanism, and the highest possibilities of American citizenship.

We are to declare ourselves upon other questions here to-day. We are to declare ourselves upon the question of a free ballot and a fair count. No platform should ever be made that does not re-iterate that great constitutional guaranty, no Republican speech

should ever be made that does not insist firmly and resolutely that the great constitutional guaranty shall be a living birthright, not a cold formality of constitutional enactment, but a living thing which the poorest and humblest may confidently enjoy and which the richest and most powerful dare not deny. We can well leave to the Committee on Resolutions the duty of making a platform that shall represent the best thoughts, the best ideas, and the best wisdom of the Republican party. When we go out of this convention upon a true Republican platform we will go out marching to victory, no matter who may carry the banner.

Upon the conclusion of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, General Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, the chairman of that committee, said:

Your committee would report that the rules submitted are, with two exceptions, those of the last National Convention, which were substantially those of the conventions of 1880 and 1884. These rules were found to work smoothly, and, with an amendment to former rule three, adopting the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress, and a new rule inserted proposing that a motion to table an amendment shall not carry with it or prejudice the pending measure, it is believed they will be satisfactory to the convention. Your committee deemed it proper to recognize specifically the rules of the last Republican House of Representatives, under which action, progress and results were made possible as against the rules of the present House, which permit indefinite filibustering, obstruction and non-action except when a report from the Committee on Rules is presented, a tyranny hitherto unknown in American history.

As illustrative of what is accomplished by the code of rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress, let me give you a brief catalogue, prepared by a neutral hand, and published in a neutral paper, of what was done by the Fifty-first Congress:

The McKinley Tariff act, revising the entire series of schedules.

The administrative customs act.

The act to establish the World's Fair at Chicago.

The postal subsidy act, to open direct marine communication with Central and South American ports.

The Republican Party.

The opening and creation of the Territory of Oklahoma.

The act creating a commission for the proposed continental railroad through Mexico, Central and South America.

The act admitting Idaho and Wyoming as States.

The pension act, extending pensions to dependent soldiers and soldiers' widows.

The act to reduce pension fees from \$10 to \$2.

The French spoliation act.

The act to establish the regulations for vessels at sea adopted by the International Maritime Conference.

The act to refund the direct taxes collected from loyal States during the war.

The act making a general revision of the land laws.

The general land forfeiture act, securing the return of lands granted to railroads to the public domain open for settlement.

The completion of legislation dividing the Sioux Reservation and opening a part of it to settlement.

The act to reapportion Congressional representation according to the Eleventh Census.

The act to increase the endowment and equipment of State agricultural colleges.

The meat and cattle inspection acts in the interests of interstate and foreign commerce.

The act against gambling on race-courses in the District of Columbia.

Various acts designed to improve the administration of the Post-office Department, and extend postal facilities.

The act increasing the monthly purchase of silver.

The original package act, allowing States having prohibitory laws to enforce them against shipments of liquor from other States.

The international copyright act.

These are the principal or important acts or laws of the Fifty-first Congress, and do not embrace or comprise many important bills passed by the House of Representatives, such as the bankruptcy bill, the bill to amend the election laws of the United States and to provide for their efficient enforcement, and others of lesser note.

The enactment of these laws, and the passage of these bills, were made possible by the code of rules adopted by the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress.

After a short discussion of the rules the convention adjourned till Thursday at eleven o'clock. At that time the convention almost immediately adjourned till the evening session, when Chauncey M. Depew addressed the Chair, saying:

I arise to a question of privilege; not high privilege, but pleasant privilege. We have present among our number a delegate, who has been a delegate to every National Convention of the Republican party since its organization; who has voted for every President of the United States for the last sixty years; who has served with distinction in Congress and in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; who is to-day eighty-three years of age, in full activity, and in full possession of his faculties; and while England claims so much for Mr. Gladstone because at eighty-two he is so strong and so vigorous, America claims more for Colonel Dick Thompson, of Indiana, who is eighty-three years of age to-day. I move you, sir, that the congratulations of this convention be extended to him.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted, when Mr. Thompson was conducted to the platform. The chairman said: "I have the pleasure of presenting to the convention the Hon. Richard W. Thompson of Indiana." Mr. Thompson then addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Your action has awakened in my heart feelings which I have not words to express. I return to you my most sincere thanks and deepest gratitude. When I remember the events with which I have been associated in the political world, and find around me such an assemblage of those engaged in the common cause of preserving the welfare and the honor of this land, I feel as if I were young again. True, by the march which the dial has made, I am eighty-three years of age to-day. But I am not half that in reality, because I am stimulated and emboldened by an undaunted Republican spirit, which animates me and which causes me to believe with an honest conviction that the destinies of this country are to be controlled by that great party for years and years to come.

Born as I was when the Constitution of the United States was but 20 years old, I was reared and educated under revolutionary influences, and from my revolutionary ancestors I learned my

Republicanism. They taught me to believe that the first and primary duty of the government of the United States was to take care of the interests of the people and to preserve all those great guaranties of the Constitution which are intended to secure to us, and to our children, the inalienable right of popular self-government. One of the instrumentalities by which that great right is to be preserved is the institution, under God, of the Republican party; and we are to-day in the execution of the great trust which has been confided to us, to lay the foundation of another triumph upon the coming of November, which shall assure to us, and for years to come to our posterity, that this is the happiest, the most prosperous, the freest, and the grandest government upon the earth.

I cannot trespass upon your patience by entering upon the discussion of political questions now. I simply rose to return to you my sincere and heartfelt thanks for your congratulations, and to promise you in return that I will meet you here or somewhere else in this broad land again, four years hence, and I will do as I have done many a time before—aid you in selecting another Republican candidate for the Presidency. I have passed through, actively, fifteen Presidential campaigns. The first vote I ever cast for President of the United States was for Henry Clay, the greatest champion of protection. The proudest vote I ever cast in my life, in a legislative body, was in 1842 for the Tariff of that year, and I hope to see the time come when the public sentiment of this country shall so far vindicate that great bill which bears your honored name, sir [The speaker turned to Chairman McKinley, and the convention applauded vociferously], that neither faction nor party shall ever be able successfully to attack it.

Now, then, I promise you again that I will meet you four years hence.

At this point the hall grew dark, because of the flickering of the electric lights, and the speaker continued as follows:

Your chairman has instructed me to talk until the light comes back. [Light returned.] Am I not now, sir, released from the obligation imposed upon me? Gentlemen, in return for your congratulations I again repeat, I will meet you four years hence, and I hope to meet our honored chairman also, that we may hail him as the author of a bill which has stood the test of four or five years of attack by its adversaries, and yet remains undisturbed. The Demo-

cratic party proposes to destroy this bill by piecemeal, like rats gnawing at the ropes of a ship and seeking to sink it, while the great craft moves onward and bids defiance to the storm. I return you again my heartfelt thanks for your sympathy, your congratulation and your kindness.

Considerable time was then taken up with the report of the Committee on Credentials and a discussion upon the same, after which ex-Governor Foraker of Ohio, the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the following platform :

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles :

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and

enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international confidence to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interest and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in state commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent, at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-office Department, and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States government.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practical date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will ensure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

In temperance we sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted amid loud applause and cheering. The convention then adjourned.

During the morning session of the fourth day, after the delegates to the convention had been fully decided upon, the clerk read the following communication :

WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., June 6, 1892.

HON. WARNER MILLER, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK DELEGATION
TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

My Dear Sir:—We respectfully call your attention to the work of the Republican women for the maintenance of Republican principles and the election of Republican candidates. The work of women in whatever concerns the home or the state is justified by every principle of popular government, and at the present time is made important by current political conditions. The Republican party will be the gainer if it utilizes the social, moral and political influence of its woman sympathizers. This can only be broadly effective through organization. We earnestly ask the delegates to the convention to seek the co-operation of women in their various localities. To aid in their co-operation we will present each delegate with a general statement of the work accomplished and plans proposed. Thus may the fireside and the schools, as well as the platform and the press, sustain the principles of the Republican party, among which is the noble sentiment of the last National Convention, viz:

“The first concern of good government is the virtue and sobriety of the citizen and the purity of the home.”

Respectfully and sincerely,

J. ELLEN FOSTER.

Chairman.

Mr. Miller moved that it be the sense of the convention that this organization should be used in the coming campaign, and that the officers named be presented to the convention. The motion was seconded and unanimously agreed to. The chairman then introduced Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, chairman of the Woman's Republican Association of the United States, who addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen and Lady Delegates and Alternates to this Convention; I thank you. It is no mean honor which is given to me as a representative of many thousand Republican women to stand in this magnificent presence. It is no mean honor to be presented by the great Empire State. The Empire State, which in itself has to contend with the fiercest questions of civilization, and

thus needs us the most. The tests of civilization which are its changed ideals, are recognized by our recognition here. A free Church and a free State are magnificent ideals, and the record of the Republican party is a record of the magnificent attainment of those ideals.

Gentlemen and Ladies, the Woman's Republican Association has prepared plans of work, with suggestions of detail which will be presented to every delegate and alternate in this convention. We are here to help you. And we have come to stay. We do not seek recognition in the party in the interest of any one of the various reforms, in which, as individuals, we are interested. We believe the moral reforms should be conducted outside of party lines, in the broad field of humanitarian, philanthropic and Christian effort. Not every one who cries "Reform" is a reformer. When a would-be reformer declares that he will inaugurate political chaos or help enthrone political wrong because his individual convictions do not find recognition, that man is not a reformer.

A man who fails to vote or who ignores the present harm which his vote may do can find no warrant for his course in reason or in morals. He who does not stand for the greatest present attainable good is a helper of the bad. Righteousness in government comes by evolution oftener than by revolution. When revolution is the gate through which a people emerges to large liberty, the gate is opened by the assaults of the bad, not by the hands of the good. John Brown's methods failed, and in the nature of things had to fail; John Brown's soul is marching on. The aggressions of Slavery brought on the war; in its crimson chariot the African slave was carried to liberty.

Therefore let women weave their laurels and sing their glorias to the robust political action of the Republican party, which accepts the present as it is found, but out of it builds great boulevards of human progress. Gentlemen, in our service of Republicanism we know no personal preferences or factional strife; we wear upon our breasts the name of none of the honorable men who may be your choice; but on our hearts are carried and from prayerful lips will soon be uttered the names of your nominees. We love our States and we love the Nation. Not Cæsar less, but Rome more. I love my native State. Massachusetts is a great State; from the sand and rocks of her Atlantic coast consecrated by Plymouth's pilgrim band; through the gardens of her river valleys to the bord-

ers of the Empire State she is full of greatness; great in ideas which are the only real forces in civilization; great in power to apply those ideals in the common walks of life, in trade, in commerce, in industries, in economics, in reforms and in the science of government.

Iowa, my adopted State, thou art the beloved daughter of New England's queen, and thou dost honor thy royalty. Iowa was quick to respond to the nation's call in time of civil strife; she was first to respond to the cry of starving Russia; the sight of her corn made glad the hearts of dying men and women and little children; she even sent seven of her good women along to set the table. Iowa's corn will feed millions, but by constitutional law her people have decreed that not one kernel shall be made into poison. Massachusetts is great, Iowa is the flower of her greatness, but there sit upon this floor the representatives of a greater State, a State of rocks and rivers, of plains and mountains; a State the peer of any other in natural resources and in power of development, but peerless in the crown its civilization wears; peerless in free men and free women—Wyoming, thou art the land of promise. Women of Wyoming, who gave you liberty? I hear you answer, the freemen of your own households who thought it not robbery to themselves to make you their equals before the law. Who placed your star in the proudest flag of the world, the most beautiful emblem that the sun shines on—except the cross of the world's Redeemer? By whose votes was Wyoming made a State? Current history answers. History—sacred and profane—will never forget. By votes of the Republicans in the Fifty-first Congress, Wyoming came into the Union. The Republican party in Congress was practically solid for the admission of this free State. The Democratic party was practically solid against it. God bless the Republican party in the Fifty-first Congress!

Gentlemen, the Republican party is nothing if not aggressive. It is a party of action; its breath is progress; its speech is the language of the world; its dialect is the rhetoric of the home, the farm, the shop. Its shibboleths might be written on the white walls of any church. It holds within its ranks the armies of all reform; its constituencies are the living, moving, vital elements of American life. Why should not women rally to the support of such a party? Gentlemen, we have come; we are for service. May God keep us all wise, and true, and strong, and brave.

The chairman then announced that the next order of business was the presentation of candidates for President of the United States. When Colorado was called, Senator E. O. Wolcott presented the name of James G. Blaine. Mr. Wolcott, in nominating Mr. Blaine, said :

Our candidate, Mr. Chairman, has never been President of the United States. He will be, but if he has not yet occupied that office, he has, by his devotion to the party, made Republican Presidents possible, and he has enriched and guided two administrations with his sagacity and statesmanship. We are honored and respected abroad. We owe it to his statecraft. We are gathering the republics of all America together in bonds of closest friendship. It is because he devised the plan and shaped the policy. We are protecting our own people on the farm and in the workshop, and by wise concessions are inducing the nations of the world to open their gates to our products. His far seeing and discriminating vision saw the possibilities of reciprocity and induced us to foster it. There is no public measure since the days of reconstruction which has tended to the advancement of our country with which he is not identified, and when the history of this generation of our Republic shall be written his name will stand foremost among its statesmen. No official title or station can add to or detract from the lustre of his fame, but we may at least let history record that such as we had to give we gave with loyal and loving hearts.

When Indiana was called, Richard W. Thompson of that State presented the name of Benjamin Harrison. No other nominations were made. Mr. Thompson, in nominating Mr. Harrison, said :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : I do not intend to make a speech. I propose to make a nomination for the Presidency which shall strike a chord of sympathy in every true Republican heart. I propose to nominate for the presidency a man who does not seek elevation by the detraction of any other great Republican in the Republican party. I do not propose, however, to eulogize his history or his life before this convention, because that will be done in words of burning and breathing eloquence, which cannot be surpassed in this or any other country in the world. Therefore with these simple words of praise I nominate to this con-

vention for the Presidency of the United States the warrior statesman, Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

William H. Eustis of Minnesota and W. E. Mollison of Mississippi then seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine, after which Chauncey M. Depew of New York, in a most eloquent speech, seconded the nomination of Mr. Harrison. Among other things, Mr. Depew said:

I yield to no Republican, no matter from what State he hails, in admiration and respect for John Sherman, for Gov. McKinley, for Thomas B. Reed, for Iowa's great son, for the favorites of Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan; but when I am told that the credit for the brilliant diplomacy of this administration belongs exclusively to the Secretary of State, for the administration of its finances to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the construction of its ships to the Secretary of the Navy, for the introduction of American pork in Europe to the Secretary of Agriculture, for the settlement, so far as it is settled, of the currency question to Senator John Sherman, for the formulation of the Tariff laws to Governor McKinley, for the removal of the restrictions placed by foreign nations upon the introduction of American pork to our Ministers at Paris and Berlin, I am tempted to seriously inquire, who, during the last four years, has been President of the United States, anyhow?

Cæsar, when he wrote those commentaries which were the history of the conquest of Europe under his leadership, modestly took the position of Æneas when he said, "They are the narratives of events, the whole of which I saw, and the part of which I was."

Gen. Thomas, as the rock of Chickamauga, occupies a place in our history with Leonidas among the Greeks, except that he succeeded where Leonidas failed. The fight of Joe Hooker above the clouds was the poetry of battle. The resistless rush of Sheridan and his steed down the valley of the Shenandoah is the epic of our civil war. The march of Sherman from Atlanta to the sea is the supreme triumph of gallantry and strategy. It detracts nothing from the splendor of the fame or the merits of the deeds of his lieutenants to say that, having selected them with marvelous sagacity and discretion, Grant still remained the supreme commander of the national army.

All the proposed acts of any administration, before they are formulated are passed upon in cabinet council, and the measures

and suggestions of the ablest Secretaries would have failed with a lesser President; but for the great good of the country and the benefit of the Republican party, they have succeeded, because of the suggestive mind, the indomitable courage, the intelligent appreciation of situations, and the grand magnanimity of Benjamin Harrison.

Warner Miller of New York then seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine, followed by H. P. Cheatham of North Carolina, in a speech for Mr. Harrison; G. Q. Boyd of Tennessee, followed with a speech for Mr. Blaine, and in turn was followed by Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, advocating the nomination of Benjamin Harrison. Senator Spooner was followed by Bruno E. Fink of Wisconsin, in a speech seconding the nomination of Mr. Harrison, Mr. Stephen W. Downey of Wyoming making the concluding speech for Mr. Blaine. The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. Only one ballot was taken, which resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes.....	905
Necessary for a choice.....	453
Benjamin Harrison, Indiana	535 $\frac{1}{2}$
James G. Blaine, Maine	182 $\frac{3}{4}$
William McKinley, Jr., Ohio.....	182
Thomas B. Reed, Maine.....	4
Robert T. Lincoln, Illinois.....	1

The nomination of Mr. Harrison was then made unanimous. During the roll of States, when Ohio was called its vote was announced as 44 for McKinley and 2 for Harrison. The chairman, Mr. McKinley, challenged the vote, when Mr. Foraker and Mr. Ambler, both of Ohio, raised the point of order that because of his occupancy of the chair, Mr. McKinley ceased to be a member of the Ohio delegation, and that his alternate was entitled to vote in his place. Chairman McKinley overruled this point of order and directed the Secretary to call again the roll of Ohio, when he voted for General Harrison, the remaining 45 votes being cast for McKinley. When Texas was called Mr. McKinley invited Elliott F. Shepard of New York to the

chair, and taking the floor moved that the rules be suspended and Benjamin Harrison be nominated as President by acclamation. The point of order was made that the motion was not in order, but although the Chair held it to be in order under the rules, Governor McKinley withdrew his motion and the roll-call was concluded. The convention then took a recess till 8 P.M., at which time the roll of States was called for the purpose of presenting a candidate for Vice-President. When New York was called, Edmund O'Connor presented the name of Whitelaw Reid. The nomination was seconded by General Horace Porter, of New York, who said, among other things:

Mr. Reid began his career and continued his service in the broad and instructive field of American journalism. He became the legitimate and worthy successor to that great creator of modern journalism, Horace Greeley. So broad were Mr. Reid's views, so thoroughly was he informed in everything pertaining to the country's history and the country's success that the people demanded, and in recognition of their wish, the appointing power selected him as minister to France at a very important crisis in the diplomatic relations of our two countries.

We were glad to see him serve as minister from the oldest Republic of the new world to the newest Republic of the old world. Scarcely was he installed in office when there fell upon him for solution the most complicated, the most intricate questions that had ever arisen in diplomacy between the two countries. That he solved them successfully, met them boldly, is a matter of inexpressible pride to every one who honors the American name. In the exhibits at the French exposition he brought order out of chaos. He negotiated a most important extradition treaty. He succeeded in securing France as the first nation to accept our Nation's invitation to the International Columbian fair. He secured France as the first nation to give her assent to the terms of our international copyright. He negotiated there an important reciprocity treaty. And last he achieved his greatest triumph in that warfare of intellectual giants in securing the repeal of the prohibitory duties upon American pork. In that he showed himself the master of modern diplomacy. Throughout those complicated transactions he retained the absolute confidence of his own government and secured the sympathy and respect of the great government to which

he was accredited. His duty done, he resigned the office which he never sought, and made manifest his feeling that the post of honor is the private station.

After Governor Bulkeley of Connecticut had seconded the nomination of Mr. Reid, J. T. Settle of Tennessee nominated Thomas B. Reed of Maine. The nomination was seconded by C. M. Louthan of Virginia, after which Mr. Littlefield of Maine addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President : In behalf of the Maine delegation, I ask the delegates to this convention to decline to cast any votes for the Hon. Thomas B. Reed of Maine, for the office of Vice-President until they can be assured that the gentlemen have authority to present his name to this convention. I say to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, that it is the opinion of the Maine delegation that Mr. Reed would decline the nomination if tendered to him by this convention; and, therefore, I request the delegates not to vote for Thomas B. Reed until they are assured that it is by his authority that his name is used in this convention.

His nomination was then withdrawn, and, the rules being suspended, Whitelaw Reid was nominated by acclamation. The following resolution was then introduced and carried unanimously:

Resolved, That in the organization of the American Republican College League, an event significant in American politics, the young Republicans of the colleges and universities of the Nation have merited our congratulations and highest commendation, and we welcome them to the ranks of the party in an active participation in the affairs of State.

The following resolution was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention and of the whole Republican party are due and tendered to Hon. William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for the splendid, impartial and courteous way he has discharged his duties as the presiding officer of this convention. We wish Gov. McKinley a prosperous administration

in Ohio, health and happiness in his private life and an increasing usefulness in the service of his country.

Resolutions were then adopted, thanking the other officers of the convention, the people of Minneapolis, and the committee in charge of arrangements for the convention. The committees were then announced to notify the candidates for President and Vice-President, after which the convention adjourned without day.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago, June 21, 1892, William C. Owens of Kentucky being temporary chairman, and William L. Wilson the permanent president of the convention. When the platform was reported to the convention it contained the following plank:

We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the government is the only justification for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when custom-house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor; and the enormous additional impositions of the existing Tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and, for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expenses of the government; and we demand such a revision of the Tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions, and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

By a vote of 564 to 342 the above paragraph was struck out and the following substituted:

Sec. 3. We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect Tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley Tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley Tariff went into operation, there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that Tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that, after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over \$2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West, there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging \$165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

After the adoption of the platform, at a late hour in the evening, the convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States, a formal ballot resulting as follows:

Whole number of votes	909½
Necessary for a choice (two thirds)	607

Grover Cleveland, New York.....	617½
David B. Hill, New York.....	114
Horace Boies, Iowa.....	103
Arthur P. Gorman, Maryland.....	36½
Adlai E. Stevenson, Illinois.....	16½
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky.....	14
William R. Morrison, Illinois.....	3
James E. Campbell, Ohio.....	2
William C. Whitney, New York.....	1
William E. Russell, Massachusetts.....	1
Robert E. Pattison, Pennsylvania.....	1

On the next day a ballot for Vice-President resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes.....	909
Necessary for a choice (two thirds).....	606
Adlai E. Stevenson, Illinois.....	402
Isaac P. Gray, Indiana.....	343
Allen B. Morse, Michigan.....	86
John L. Mitchell, Wisconsin.....	45
Henry Watterson, Kentucky.....	26
Bourke Cockran, New York.....	5
Lambert Tree, Illinois.....	1
Horace Boies, Iowa.....	1

A motion was then made and carried that Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois be the candidate for Vice-President.

The Prohibition party held its convention June 29th, at Cincinnati, John P. St. John of Kansas being the temporary chairman, and Eli Ritter of Indiana being selected for permanent president of the convention. John Bidwell of California was nominated for President of the United States, and J. B. Cranfield of Texas for Vice-President.

The so-called "People's party" held its first convention at Omaha, July 2d, nominating General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President, and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President.

The Socialist Labor party held its convention at New York on August 28th. Simon Wing of Massachusetts was nominated for President and Charles H. Matchett of New York for Vice-President.

Whether justly or not, the Republican party was obliged to be on the defensive throughout the campaign of 1892. The Democratic managers were shrewd enough at the outset to realize the only line of argument that would gain for them the election in November, and to their own shrewdness were added one or two vital errors by the Republican management which could not have happened under the Republican National Committees of the two subsequent campaigns. The campaign for the most part turned upon the Tariff question in general and the McKinley law and its results in particular.

There is no question but that certain articles of consumption were to a greater or less degree enhanced in price because of the operation of the Tariff law of 1890. Perhaps the price of one article in twenty was increased, which was more than overcome by the reduction in price of other articles, so that with the increased employment and increased wages which resulted from the operation of the new law, the cost of living was considerably reduced. It will be well for those desiring a perfect understanding of the campaign and election of 1892 to study the facts regarding this statement. In the first place, the index figures of prices from *Dun's Review* are given for the year 1892 as well as for the year preceding and the one following. They are as follows:

INDEX FIGURE OF PRICES, JANUARY 1.

Year.	Bread-stuffs.	Meats.	Dairy and Garden.	Other food.	Clothing.	Metals.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1891	\$19,725	\$7,810	\$16,270	\$10,215	\$14,135	\$15,875	\$14,217	\$98,247
1892	17,000	7,995	13,180	9,185	13,430	14,665	13,767	89,822
1893	15,750	9,315	15,290	9,595	13,900	15,985	14,320	94,155

In an article in the *Forum* of May, 1892, Edward Atkinson said on this point:

The period that has elapsed since the end of the Civil War is one of the most remarkable in economic history. In spite of the excessive taxes or duties upon materials of foreign origin such has

been the magnitude of the demand, in part induced by the influx of immigrants, who have established themselves in our country under favorable conditions, and have become consumers of our merchandise and manufactured products, as well as producers of others, that there has been (subject to temporary variations and fluctuations) a steady advance in the rates of wages, a steady reduction in the cost of labor per unit of product, and a corresponding reduction in the price of goods of almost every kind to the consumer.

There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods relatively to wages as low as they are to-day, nor a period when the workman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product.

So important was the matter in the discussions of the year, that a Senate committee was appointed to investigate prices and wages under the operation of the McKinley law. A commission was appointed comprising Carroll D. Wright, Francis A. Walker, Professor H. C. Adams, Edward Atkinson, Professor E. J. James, and William Grosvenor. It will be admitted that a majority of the commission were Free-Traders. Their report when presented was unanimously accepted by the Senate committee, composed of both Republicans and Democrats, and among other things this report stated that:

During the twenty-eight months from June 1, 1889, to September 1, 1891 [the McKinley law went into operation October 6, 1890], average retail prices of 214 articles of common consumption among the people declined .64 per cent.; wholesale prices of the same articles declined .33 per cent.; prices of agricultural products advanced 18.67 per cent., and wages advanced on the average .75 per cent.

The statement, then, that wages advanced and prices of manufactured articles declined under the McKinley law cannot be honestly disputed, and yet the false claim put forth by Mr. Cleveland and his managers, that prices on all the necessities of life had advanced, was one of the principal causes which defeated the Republicans at the election in November. It

must, however, be admitted that prices were in many cases "marked up." The department stores, and even other shopkeepers, on finding that a line of goods were selling slowly at, say, fifty or sixty cents, would re-mark them "65 cts., marked down from \$1.00," and their sale to bargain-hunters would be rapid. On the other hand, a line of goods that were selling well at fifty cents would be immediately marked up to fifty-five cents or sixty cents, the explanation of the increase in price being that it was necessary "on account of the McKinley bill." Shopkeepers shrewdly saw this advantage and practised it wherever possible. This at once gave to the Democratic managers the idea for a most effective scheme. It is explained by Mr. Stanwood in his *American Tariff Controversies* as follows:

The exaggeration in regard to tinware and the canning industry associated with it was carried to the most absurd lengths. It was seriously given out and published far and wide that the inevitable consequence of the higher duty on tin plate would be an advance of from fifteen to twenty per cent. in the price of canned fruits and vegetables. The basis of the assertion was an increase of one and two tenths cents on a pound of tin plate, which would possibly amount to one third of a cent on the tin used in putting up a can of tomatoes, and less than three per cent. on the retail price of the cheapest can of the cheapest vegetables, which change in the rate of duty was not to take place for eight months. All the persons concerned in any industry in which tin plate was used joined in the effort to make the duty on that article unpopular. It may not be fair to employ the word "conspiracy" to characterize their course of action. It seemed to them to their interest to magnify the burden that was about to be placed upon them, and they joined in the movement, one and all, without needing to be urged or to organize for the purpose. In at least one case a canning factory ostentatiously posted a reduction of wages, and published as a reason the impossibility of continuing in business at the prevailing scale of wages. It is not unreasonable to think that the advance in the price of goods and the reduction of wages combined to make that an exceedingly good season for the users of tin plate particularly as the importation of tin plate on an enormous scale at the old rate of duty proceeded until the beginning of the next canning sea-

son, when there was—if the Treasury statistics are an indication—a full supply for a half-year in excess of the usual stock on hand. If those statistics do not give that indication, it is a necessary conclusion that the canning business, so far from suffering a grievous diminution, as the canners and packers apprehended, was unusually large, after the passage of the McKinley tariff law.

The tinware men were not behind the canners in protesting that their industry was threatened with ruin. They announced an immediate advance of from fifteen to twenty per cent. on their wares, thus anticipating the increased duty on their raw material by eight months, during which time they could and did procure a large supply of that material. At the same time an appeal was made to the consumer which surpasses in audacity of conception any other political device of our time. When it was made it aroused the indignation of the supporters of the Tariff to the highest pitch. To-day, say what we may of it from the point of view of political ethics, it moves chiefly one's sense of humor. Tin peddlers were sent through the country districts, their vans loaded with the familiar pans and other kitchen utensils "marked up" to absurdly high figures. They were instructed to represent that the increase was due to the new Tariff, and that tinware would never be lower so long as the law was in force. Thus the farmers' wives were made political agents to secure votes against "McKinleyism."

The exaggeration did not confine itself to specific articles. It extended itself to the whole cost of living. The *New York Times* announced editorially that "a moderate estimate of the increased cost of living in this city for the year 1891 is one fifth. That is to say, it will take \$1.20 to buy what has been got for \$1." "A New York merchant," quoted by the same authority, "after a careful examination," concludes "that the necessities of life must advance about thirty per cent." The chief necessities of life are food, clothing, and shelter. The Tariff did not affect bread and meat in the slightest degree; it promised and gave a large reduction in the cost of sugar. It made a slight flurry in the market for clothing which, nevertheless, during the period the McKinley act was in force, was lower on the average than ever before. Of course it did not touch rents, nor did it make any change whatever in the price of fuel. In short, it is easily demonstrable that the cost of living to the average householder was lower rather than higher under the McKinley law. It is open to objectors to show that the Tariff did

tend to augment the family budgets of Americans, and that the tendency was counteracted by other agencies. But an assertion to that effect is not proof.

In addition to the effort to persuade wage-earners that the Tariff was an injury to them in the matter of prices of articles which they must buy, there was an attempt which had surprising success to induce them to believe that the law had a harmful influence upon prices. After what had been said of the feelings of carpet manufacturers with regard to the act, one is prepared to find a man engaged in that industry declaring that "if people have any idea that wages will go up a cent in consequence of the McKinley bill, they are mistaken. If there is any change in wages it must have a downward tendency. And what is more, the McKinley law will, in all probability, force manufacturers to drop many of the men and women who are now employed." The history of manufacturers and of labor during the ensuing years is a sufficient reply to this remarkable prediction; but for the moment it answered the purpose of the person who made it, and still more the purposes of the political party which was carrying on the most vigorous anti-Tariff campaign ever waged.

It is not to be supposed that the supporters of the act were idle and silent during that single month of October in which defeat was organized for them. But the assaults on the Tariff were so many were so difficult to answer, and were addressed to persons who would only accidentally be reached with the refutation of the criticisms upon the bill, that from the beginning the advocates of protection had no chance. The New York *Tribune* no doubt expressed the opinion of the Tariff men that there was a combination of interested parties and politicians "to defeat the purpose of the Tariff bill and to plunder the people," and that the trade circulars which played such a prominent part in the campaign merely made the supposed new burdens of the Tariff "a pretext for extortion. But the people at that time were not listening to the *Tribune*. General denials did not remove the impression which specific allegations supported by revised price-lists made upon them. Being ready to be convinced that the Tariff was an outrageous measure that would both diminish their earnings and increase the cost of what they must buy, they hearkened readily and only to those who undertook to convince them.

Mr. Cleveland himself gave no little aid to his managers from

the outset of the campaign. The platform was such a radical declaration in favor of Free Trade, made to please the South and West, that it was thought necessary to hedge considerably and allay the apprehensions and alarm of Northern and Eastern manufacturers. Consequently Mr. Cleveland, on July 20, 1892, in a speech made in New York City, said:

Ours is not a destructive party. We are not at enmity with the rights of any of our citizens. All are our countrymen. We are not recklessly heedless of any American interests, nor will we abandon our regard for them.

While in his letter of acceptance, dated September 26th, he said:

Tariff reform is still our purpose. We wage no exterminating war against any American interests. We believe a readjustment can be accomplished in accordance with the principles we profess without disaster or demolition. We contemplate a fair and careful distribution of necessary Tariff burdens rather than the precipitation of Free Trade. We will rely upon the intelligence of our fellow-countrymen to reject the charge that a party comprising a majority of our people is planning the destruction or injury of American interests.

The Free-Trade plank of the Democratic platform was held up to the view of the Southern and Western members of the party, while the more conservative views of Mr. Cleveland were made prominent in the Eastern speeches and editorials of the Democratic press. It was very much like the campaign of 1844, when the cry in the North was "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842," while in the South it was "Polk, Dallas, and Free Trade." But Democratic deception and fraud, while largely instrumental in bringing about the result of the election in November, was aided very materially by Republican mismanagement and the obstinacy and indiscretion of mill-owners in Pennsylvania.

One of the most serious strikes known in the country up to that time was that which broke out in the mills of the Carnegie Company at Homestead on July 6, 1892. An opinion upon the merits of the question which led to the disturbance is not

within the province of this work. On the announcement of the company of its intention to make repairs, the officials asked the sheriffs to appoint deputies to protect their property. Upon a small squad of men appearing at the works the strikers at once notified them to get out of town, saying that no disorder was intended and promising that no damage would be done to the property. An offer was made that the workmen themselves be sworn in as deputies and give bonds for the faithful performance of their duties as preservers of the peace. This offer was declined, upon which the advisory committee of the workmen, which up to this time had been directing their movements, was at once dissolved and all their records destroyed. It was now that the company made a movement, the result of which in itself was important enough to have changed sufficient industrial votes to elect Mr. Cleveland, had the deception of his own campaign managers not been quite sufficient in itself. The Carnegie Company secured a body of men known as "Pinkerton detectives," and the fact becoming known to the workmen, it was at once determined to resist their coming. They arrived in two barges on the Ohio River, and their attempt to land was thwarted by the strikers. The detectives were armed with Winchester rifles, while the strikers were possessed of various arms and missiles. Without doubt the firing was inaugurated by the strikers, and their attitude and action can in no way be defended, even while condemning the action of the company in hiring and attempting to bring the Pinkertons to their mills.

On the second day the fight was renewed, and after seven of the detectives had been killed and twenty or thirty wounded, they surrendered to the strikers and accepted their terms to leave their ammunition and arms behind and leave the place under guard. As they passed through the streets in charge of a squad appointed by the committee of strikers, they were clubbed and stoned and shot by the surrounding mob. The town was later placed under martial law, and order was restored by the militia sent by the Government. The matter was investigated in Congress, but it was not till after the election that the strike was declared off. Arrests were made of some

of the leaders of the workmen on the charge of murder, while retaliatory suits were brought against the Carnegie Company and the Pinkerton Brothers on the same charge. A charge of high treason was brought afterwards against the Homestead Advisory Board, and indictments were found involving thirty-one defendants.

The causes mentioned brought about not only the election of Mr. Cleveland, but the election of almost enough Democratic Representatives of the next Congress to make a three-fourths majority. It also resulted in enough Democratic State Legislatures to insure the return of sufficient Democratic Senators to control that body in the following Congress. The popular and electoral vote is shown on the next page.

It will be seen that to the solid South were added California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, while Mr. Cleveland obtained one electoral vote in Ohio, and five in Michigan. The result was certainly decisive and left no doubt that the people at large for the time being had rebuked the Republican party for what they wrongly supposed to be against their best interests. And yet, though a large majority of the people had voted for Mr. Cleveland, they were probably sorry for it within twenty-four hours after the election. There was no such rejoicing as took place in 1884, in fact as soon as it was determined without doubt that the next Congress would be Democratic in both branches, which would enable Mr. Cleveland and his party to carry out their threats to repeal the McKinley law and enact in its stead a Free-Trade measure, apprehension and alarm took possession of the industrial and financial interests of the country, and could the election have been held over again within ten days, it may be estimated that a million or more votes would have been changed from the Cleveland column to that of Harrison. The people, as it were, awoke from a dream; they saw at once how they had been deceived by the methods of the Democratic campaign managers, and how an incident which had no bearing whatever upon the issue of the campaign had influenced their vote in a time of temporary anger and resentment.

STATES	POPULAR VOTE				ELECTORAL VOTE		
	Grover Cleveland, New York	Benjamin Harrison, Indiana	James B. Weaver, Iowa	John Bidwell, California	Cleveland and Stevenson	Harrison and Reid	Weaver and Field
Alabama.....	138,138	9,197	85,181	239	11		
Arkansas.....	87,834	46,884	11,831	113	8		
California.....	117,908	117,618	25,226	8,056	8	1	
Colorado.....		38,620	53,584	1,638			4
Connecticut.....	82,395	77,025	806	4,025	6		
Delaware.....	18,581	18,083	13	565	3		
Florida.....	30,143		4,843	475	4		
Georgia.....	129,361	48,305	42,937	988	13		
Idaho.....		8,599	10,520	288			3
Illinois.....	426,281	399,288	22,207	25,870	24		
Indiana.....	262,740	255,615	22,208	13,050	15		
Iowa.....	196,367	219,795	20,595	6,402		13	
Kansas.....		157,237	163,111	4,539			10
Kentucky.....	175,461	135,441	23,500	6,442	13		
Louisiana.....	87,922	13,281	13,282		8		
Maine.....	48,044	62,931	2,381	3,062		6	
Maryland.....	113,866	92,736	796	5,877	8		
Massachusetts.....	176,813	202,814	3,210	1,539		15	
Michigan.....	202,296	222,708	19,892	14,069	5	9	
Minnesota.....	100,920	122,823	29,313	12,182		9	
Mississippi.....	40,237	1,406	10,256	910	9		
Missouri.....	268,398	226,918	41,213	4,331	17		
Montana.....	17,581	18,851	7,334	549		3	
Nebraska.....	24,943	87,227	83,134	4,902		8	
Nevada.....	714	2,811	7,264	89			3
New Hampshire.....	42,081	45,658	292	1,297		4	
New Jersey.....	171,042	156,068	969	8,131	10		
New York.....	654,868	609,350	16,429	38,190	36		
North Carolina.....	132,951	100,342	44,736	2,636	11		
North Dakota.....		17,519	17,700	899	1	1	1
Ohio.....	404,115	405,187	14,850	26,012	1	22	
Oregon.....	14,243	35,002	26,965	2,281		3	1
Pennsylvania.....	452,264	516,011	8,714	25,123		32	
Rhode Island.....	24,335	26,972	228	1,654		4	
South Carolina.....	54,692	13,345	2,407		9		
South Dakota.....	9,081	34,888	26,544			4	
Tennessee.....	138,874	100,331	23,447	4,851	12		
Texas.....	239,148	81,444	99,688	2,165	15		
Vermont.....	16,325	37,992	43	1,415		4	
Virginia.....	163,977	113,262	12,275	2,788	12		
Washington.....	29,802	36,460	19,165	2,542		4	
West Virginia.....	84,467	80,293	4,166	2,145	6		
Wisconsin.....	177,335	170,791	9,909	13,132	12		
Wyoming.....		8,454	7,722	530		3	
Total.....	5,556,543	5,175,582	1,040,886	255,841	277	145	22

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND—PANIC OF 1893— REPEAL OF SHERMAN LAW—GORMAN—WILSON TARIFF.

THE second session of the Fifty-second Congress convened Monday, December 5, 1892. The first part of President Harrison's annual message was devoted to "a comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country," which, he added, "will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people." After giving a synopsis of the census figures of 1890, the President referred to the industrial plants established since October 6, 1890, up to October 22, 1892. He gave figures showing the increased employment and increased wages. He also showed that in every department of our trade and commerce, both foreign and domestic, we were up to the time of the election enjoying unprecedented prosperity. He concluded this part of the message with the following sentence:

There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were as high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessaries and comforts of life.

He then said:

I believe that the protective system, which has now for something more than thirty years continuously prevailed in our legislation, has been a mighty instrument for the development of our national

wealth and a most powerful agency in protecting the homes of our workingmen from the invasion of want. I have felt a most solicitous interest to preserve to our working people rates of wages that would not only give daily bread, but supply a comfortable margin for those home attractions and family comforts and enjoyments without which life is neither hopeful nor sweet. They are American citizens—a part of the great people for whom our Constitution and Government were framed and instituted—and it cannot be a perversion of that Constitution to so legislate as to preserve in their homes the comfort, independence, loyalty, and sense of interest in the Government which are essential to good citizenship in peace, and which will bring this stalwart throng, as in 1861, to the defense of the flag when it is assailed.

It is not my purpose to renew here the argument in favor of a protective Tariff. The result of the recent election must be accepted as having introduced a new policy. We must assume that the present Tariff, constructed upon the lines of protection, is to be repealed, and that there is to be substituted for it a Tariff law constructed solely with reference to revenue; that no duty is to be higher because the increase will keep open an American mill or keep up the wages of an American workman, but that in every case such a rate of duty is to be imposed as will bring to the Treasury of the United States the largest returns of revenue. The contention has not been between schedules, but between principles, and it would be offensive to suggest that the prevailing party will not carry into legislation the principles advocated by it and the pledges given to the people. The Tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives at the last session were, as I suppose—even in the opinion of their promoters—inadequate, and justified only by the fact that the Senate and House of Representatives were not in accord, and that a general revision could not therefore be undertaken.

I recommend that the whole subject of Tariff revision be left to the incoming Congress. It is a matter of regret that this work must be delayed for at least three months; for the threat of great Tariff changes introduces so much uncertainty that an amount, not easily estimated, of business inaction and of diminished production will necessarily result. It is possible also that this uncertainty may result in decreased revenues from customs duties, for our merchants will make cautious orders for foreign goods in view of the prospect of Tariff reductions and the uncertainty as to when they

will take effect. Those who have advocated a protective Tariff can well afford to have their disastrous forecasts of a change of policy disappointed.

If a system of customs duties can be framed that will set the idle wheels and looms of Europe in motion and crowd our warehouses with foreign-made goods, and at the same time keep our own mills busy; that will give us an increased participation in the "markets of the world" of greater value than the home market we surrender; that will give increased work to foreign workmen upon products to be consumed by our people without diminishing the amount of work to be done here; that will enable the American manufacturer to pay to his workmen from 50 to 100 per cent. more in wages than is paid in the foreign mill and yet to compete in our market and in foreign markets with the foreign producer; that will further reduce the cost of articles of wear and food without reducing the wages of those who produce them; that can be celebrated, after its effects have been realized, as its expectation has been, in European as well as in American cities, the authors and promoters of it will be entitled to the highest praise. We have had in our history several experiences of the contrasted effects of a revenue and of a protective Tariff; but this generation has not felt them, and the experience of one generation is not highly instructive to the next. The friends of the protective system, with undiminished confidence in the principles they have advocated, will await the results of the new experiment.

The strained and too often disturbed relations existing between the employees and the employers in our great manufacturing establishments have not been favorable to a calm consideration by the wage earner of the effect upon wages of the protective system. The facts that his wages were the highest paid in like callings in the world and that a maintenance of this rate of wages, in the absence of protective duties upon the product of his labor, was impossible, were obscured by the passion evoked by these contests. He may now be able to review the question in the light of his personal experience under the operation of a Tariff for revenue only. If that experience shall demonstrate that present rates of wages are thereby maintained or increased, either absolutely or in their purchasing power, and that the aggregate volume of work to be done in this country is increased, or even maintained, so that there are more or as many days' work in a year at as good or better wages for

the American workman as has been the case under the protective system, every one will rejoice.

A general process of wage reduction can not be contemplated by any patriotic citizen without the gravest apprehension. It may be, indeed I believe is, possible for the American manufacturer to compete successfully with his foreign rival in many branches of production without the defense of protective duties if the pay rolls are equalized; but the conflict that stands between the producer and that result and the distress of our working people when it is attained are not pleasant to contemplate. The Society of the Unemployed, now holding its frequent and threatening parades in the streets of foreign cities, should not be allowed to acquire an American domicile.

Pursuant to notice Mr. Catchings of Mississippi, on February 9, 1893, called up in the House of Representatives the following resolution from the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House proceed to consider H. R. 10143, "A bill to increase the circulation of national banks, and for other purposes," and if such bill shall not be disposed of on said day then the consideration thereof shall be continued during the next legislative day.

The bill was one for changing the policy regarding silver. Mr. Reed of Maine, speaking on the resolution, said:

Mr. Speaker, I was not aware until the session opened this morning that there was to be any preliminary debate on this question, and therefore I shall not be able to express myself with that accuracy which ought to be used upon an occasion so important as this. However, I have no doubt that what I say will be received with indulgence by the House under these circumstances. Questions of finance are always exceedingly difficult, and on such topics no wise man indulges himself much in prophetic utterances. We may, however, safely deal with some portions of the past.

The so-called Sherman act was a compromise measure, intended to stay for the time being a strong feeling which existed on the part of a good many citizens of this country in favor of the free coinage of silver. The friends of the free coinage of silver thought that the result of the Sherman act would be to bring silver to par. If it

could have done that, the problem which had convulsed this country for a long time would have been solved and finished and relegated to the past. Other people supported the Sherman act because they were afraid that the public mind was in such condition, owing to various circumstances too numerous to describe now, that there was danger of our going even to the extent of free coinage. Nobody ever regarded that act as anything but a measure passed for the time being, as, indeed, all legislation upon complex human affairs must be.

We have now come to a change of conditions, or perhaps, to speak more accurately, of apparent conditions; and to my mind the Sherman act stands in unfortunate case for two different reasons. It seems to be to-day one of the obstacles which prevent bimetallism all over the world. I think almost every reasonable man, who has not talked so much about this question that he has ceased to think, believes that whenever bimetalism is sustained it must be upon the shoulders of the whole world. Nations which are monometallic are naturally now desirous of not changing their condition. They feel that perhaps the United States will undertake to shoulder the whole load. Therefore, it seems to me that the present condition of things is in our way in the negotiations we are making for the purpose of reaching a bimetallic standard all over the world, which we desire, both silver men and those who are denounced as "gold bugs."

On the other hand, the constant increase of our currency, more than was contemplated at the time of the passage of the Sherman act, so called, together with the efflux of gold from this country, is producing another kind of fear—a fear in regard to the basis upon which our financial affairs are to be conducted. I do not fully share that fear myself. I think that the efflux of gold is in all probability the result of causes other than the Sherman act, although the possibility of the indefinite continuance of the Sherman act may have some influence upon the subject.

We are now to perform an act which is to have in all human probability (for we might as well talk plainly and openly about this business as about all other matters of legislation)—we are now about to perform an act which will have a certain moral influence, though probably not a legislative influence; because there is another body whose rules are such that deliberation goes on until deliberation ceases to be an absolute and unqualified advantage to the community.

Hence, what we do to-day may not have a final legislative result; yet it may have a moral result; and I think it will, whatever may be the outcome. If the motion for the previous question is voted down, it will show to the community that we are ready—that people of both parties are ready—to take this question into careful consideration, and to do any acts in the future which may be necessary to preserve this country upon a sound currency basis.

At the close of the debate the previous question was called, and it was ordered by a vote of 152 to 143, 34 not voting. The opponents of the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act and the advocates of silver coinage voted in the affirmative, so the previous question was ordered, and on a motion to recommit to the committee without instructions, the motion was carried by a vote of 153 to 83.

On January 17, 1893, the Finance Committee of the Senate reported a bill for the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act with an amendment. The bill was as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act—entitled “An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes,” approved July 14, 1890, as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States, is hereby repealed, to take effect on the 1st day of January, 1894; *Provided*, That this act shall not in any way affect or impair or change the legal qualities, redemption, or use of the Treasury notes issued under said act.

The proposed amendment was as follows:

Sec. 2. That upon any deposit already or hereafter made of any United States bonds bearing interest in the manner required by law, any national banking association having made or making the same shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes of different denominations, in blank, registered, and countersigned as provided by law, not exceeding in the whole amount the par value of the bonds deposited: *Provided*, That

at no time shall the total amount of such notes issued to any such association exceed the amount at such time actually paid in of its capital stock.

After a short debate the motion to take up the bill for consideration was defeated by a vote of 23 to 42, 22 not voting. The measure, therefore, was laid aside by both Houses of Congress.

Associate Justice L. Q. C. Lamar of the Supreme Court died on January 23d, and on February 2d Howell E. Jackson of Tennessee was appointed by President Harrison to fill the vacancy.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated for the second time on March 4, 1893. In his inaugural message he pledged the administration to a reform of the Tariff. He announced his Cabinet as follows, which was confirmed by the Senate: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Olney of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith of Georgia; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton of Nebraska.

The principal diplomatic appointments were as follows: Ambassador to Great Britain, Thomas F. Bayard; to France, James B. Eustis; to Germany, Theodore Runyon; to Italy, J. J. Van Allen.

On June 30th, the President called a special session of the Fifty-third Congress to meet August 7, 1893, and on that date the two Houses convened. Adlai Stevenson, Vice-President, presided over the Senate, and Charles F. Crisp of Georgia was chosen Speaker of the House. On August 8th the President sent to Congress a message recommending the repeal of the so-called Sherman law. He began the message as follows:

The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through a wise and patriotic

exercise of the legislative duty with which they are solely charged, present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted.

Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our national resources; nor is it traceable to any afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial fear and distrust have sprung up on every side. Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of the frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted.

Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have involved every branch of business.

I believe these things are principally chargeable to congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.

He concluded the message as follows:

It was my purpose to summon Congress in special session early in the coming September, that we might enter promptly upon the work of Tariff reform, which the true interests of the country clearly demand, which so large a majority of the people, as shown by their suffrages, desire and expect, and to the accomplishment of which every effort of the present Administration is pledged. But while Tariff reform has lost nothing of its immediate and permanent importance, and must in the near future engage the attention of Congress, it has seemed to me that the financial condition of the country should at once, and before other subjects, be considered by your honorable body.

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may be taken to put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the

Government to fulfil its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

On Friday, August 11, 1893, Mr. Wilson of West Virginia, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, offered the following bill:

An Act to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed; but this repeal shall not impair or in any manner affect the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined; and the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law.

Mr. Bland then offered the following substitute:

A bill (H. R. 2) for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes.

Section 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of \$100 or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

Sec. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver. Said dollars to be a legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

Sec. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

Sec. 4. So much of the act of July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

After a long debate and the defeat of several amendments providing for free coinage at different ratios, Mr. Wilson demanded the previous question on the final passage of the bill, and the motion was carried by 239 to 108, 6 not voting. The Democrats were very evenly divided in advocacy and opposition to the measure; and on a vote for an amendment providing for a return to the policy of what is known as the Bland act only a minority of the Democrats sustained the policy of the administration. On August 29th, the Finance Committee of the Senate, through Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, reported the measure that had passed the House with the following amendment by way of substitute:

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, repealed. And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts.

On October 30th a vote was taken on the substitution and passage of the Voorhees bill, and it was adopted by a vote of 43 to 32, 10 not voting. On November 1st the House of Representatives concurred in the Senate amendment, and adopted the Voorhees bill instead of the Wilson bill by a vote of 193 to 94, 66 not voting. The President approved the measure on the same day.

During the winter of 1892 and 1893 the country can be said to have been in a condition of anxious expectancy. As the different legislatures assembled and new Senators were elected, making a Free-Trade Tariff law of some sort inevitable, the apprehension in business circles was of the keenest. The American business man knew what increased foreign importations and displacement of domestic manufactures meant; he knew that it meant first a reduction of purchases of home-made goods, followed by the reduction of the manufacture of those goods, and the consequent reduction in employment and wages. The merchant, realizing that the purchasing power of his customers would be most materially reduced, countermanded or reduced his orders, the manufacturers consequently reduced their output, and early in 1893, when it was seen that some time in the near future we would have a reduction of duties, the business of the country was affected to a degree which had not been known for twenty years. Free-Traders of to-day tell us that the panic of 1893 occurred under the operation of the McKinley law. Nominally that is true, but practically it is untrue. Business was being done as it always has and always will be done, under future conditions. We manufacture and take orders for the product of many months ahead, hence the goods of one season are made during the previous season. The mills are busy during the winter in making the next summer and fall goods, and during the summer in making the goods of the next winter and spring.

During the spring and summer of 1893 we were anticipating the orders and business of the following year. Mr. Cleveland and his advisers were astute enough to see that some attempt must be made to allay the apprehensions of the business community, consequently an extra session was called resulting

in the repeal of the so-called Sherman Silver Purchase Law of 1890. It was discovered suddenly that we had too much money of a certain kind, and that gold was disappearing from sight. This was in a measure true, and the Republicans of the previous Congress had endeavored to do just what they accomplished during the special session of the Fifty-third Congress with the help of some Democrats. It was Mr. Cleveland who called this session and who advocated the repeal of the Sherman law, but it was the Republican votes that made it possible. The condition of the country, however, did not improve after or because of the repeal of this law. The disease had been improperly diagnosed and the wrong medicine had been applied. It will be well to analyze briefly this point. Although the Democratic platform of the previous year did denounce the Sherman Act of 1890, yet the matter was not made an issue during the campaign, nor did its repeal have any effect whatever upon the business and commercial interests of the country. The panic of 1893 was not the result of any undue inflation, nor depreciation of paper currency, nor was it accompanied by the suspension of specie payments. There was just one, and only one, cause for the panic, and that was apprehension and anticipation of the law which was to replace on our statute books the Tariff law of 1890. It is, however, possible that had it been known exactly what reductions of duties and other changes would take place, the panic would not have been so severe at first as it really was.

The greatest element of all entering into the causes and conditions was that of uncertainty. Mr. Cleveland's message of 1887 was re-called, as were also the provisions of the Mills bill, and the debate during the passage of that bill through the House of Representatives in 1888. It was believed that, if a similar bill should be enacted into law, many of the great industries of the country would be absolutely ruined. Could it have been known that the Protectionists of the Democratic party would hold up, as they did hold up, many of the most iniquitous features of the Tariff law to be considered, it is quite likely that many of our manufactures and merchants and bankers and others would not

have felt so depressed, as they did during 1893, the year of great uncertainty.

It cannot be disputed that President Cleveland entered upon his second term with conditions unparalleled in the history of the country. The administration of President Harrison had been prosperous in the extreme. We do not have to rely upon the statements of partisans for a proof of this, because we find that the impartial mercantile agencies, and even the Democratic and Free-Trade commercial journals, all agree upon this point. That there could be no change of duties for at least a year or more was well known, and yet, as has been noted, the American business man lays his plans many months in advance. The discussion over the Mills bill was too fresh in the minds of manufacturers to be forgotten, and with such an expression as that quoted below from Mr. Mills, the author of the bill, constantly before them, it is not to be wondered at that apprehension took possession of all. Mr. Mills had said during his speech in defence of the bill which bore his name:

If Grover Cleveland is re-elected President of the United States—as he will be; if another Democratic House of Representatives is chosen, and if we can get our Republican friends out of the other end of the Capitol and get Democrats in place of them, then we will pass a Tariff bill that puts raw material on the free list, and then we will put our own intelligence and skillful and productive labor of this country upon a plane of equality with the laborers of all other countries.

I desire Free Trade, and I will not help to perfect any law that stands in the way of Free Trade.

A part of Mr. Mills's prophecy had come true, a large part of his prediction had been realized in the re-election of Mr. Cleveland and a Democratic Senate and House of Representatives. Why should not the rest of his prediction come true, that "we will put our own intelligence and skillful and productive labor of this country upon a plane of equality with the laborers of all other countries"? That meant a reduction of wages of from fifty to seventy per cent., which would be an average wage scale of not more than seventy-five cents a day for the laborers of the United States. No wonder, then, that

the manufacturers asked themselves the question, Who are going to purchase the goods we make? However Protectionists and Free-Traders may differ upon certain phases of the Tariff question, all agree that a reduction of duties, and a consequently increased importation of goods, displacing those of American manufacture, must inevitably result in a reduction of wages and a lowering of the American standard of living. The New York *Commercial Bulletin*, known as a Free-Trade journal, said on the 17th day of November, 1892, but a little more than a week after the election of Mr. Cleveland:

The chief pressure of these transient disarrangements will be found to finally settle upon raw materials and labor. If the manufacturer has to accept a lower price for his product, he must either close his works or get compensation in a reduction of the costs of production, and that economy must be his first resort for self-protection. The producer of raw materials can have no choice but to accept his share of concession, at once if he must, later if he may. Labor may be expected to yield its quota of concession, grudgingly and tardily and possibly not without more or less disturbing resort to lock-outs and strikes. Those who have taught workingmen that a reduction of Tariff does not mean a relative reduction of wages have adulterated a great reform with a very paradoxical doctrine; but we doubt whether they have succeeded to any great extent in misleading their pupils. It certainly does not require anything beyond the measure of intelligence with which the American workman is commonly credited to comprehend the accepted rule that, in the first place, if products are to be sold for less, the working producer must get less pay; and that, in the next place, if workmen concede in wages they will get full compensation in the cheapening of the products they have to buy, so that the net result to the earner is the same under low wages as under higher. But while we have no doubt that the mass of workmen are in a measure prepared for this equal change in wages and in prices when the new Tariff comes into operation, yet it is a question whether they will readily accept any reduction of pay until the new Tariff goes into effect. This may prove to be one of the most embarrassing features we shall have to encounter in approaching the new commercial policy.

Mr. Cleveland had learned many things since his message of

1887. He must have become convinced that many of the tenets and statements of that famous message were absolutely wrong. He had asserted, for instance, that the duty upon imported articles was added to the price, or that the price of domestic manufactures was equivalent to the foreign price with the duty added, and yet he could have gone out into the stores of Washington, or Philadelphia, or New York and bought scores of articles at a lesser price than the duty itself. But the manufacturing industries of the country could not hope for any mercy from those who had influence upon future legislation. Mr. Cleveland appointed as his Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, who when Speaker had said: "All trade should be as free as possible."

The new Ways and Means Committee was appointed by Mr. Crisp, himself a Free-Trader, as follows: Wilson, West Virginia; McMillin, Tennessee; Turner, Georgia; Montgomery, Kentucky; Whiting, Michigan; Cockran, New York; Stevens, Massachusetts; Bryan, Nebraska; Breckinridge, Kentucky; Bynum, Indiana; Tarsney, Missouri. Republicans: Reed, Maine; Burrows, Michigan; Payne, New York; Dalzell, Pennsylvania; Hopkins, Illinois; Gear, Iowa.

There was no reassuring element whatever during the summer and fall of 1893, and at the close of the year R. G. Dun & Company, in their annual review, made the following statement:

Starting with the largest trade ever known, mills crowded with work and all business stimulated by high hopes, the year of 1893 has proved, in sudden shrinkage of trade, in commercial disasters and depression of industries, the worst for fifty years. Whether the final results of the panic of 1837 were relatively more severe, the scanty records of that time do not clearly show. The year closes with the prices of many products the lowest ever known, with millions of workers seeking in vain for work, and with charity laboring to keep back suffering and starvation in all our cities.

In his annual message at the regular session of the Fifty-third Congress, which convened December 4, 1893, Mr. Cleveland said:

At this time, when a depleted public treasury confronts us, when many of our people are engaged in a hard struggle for the necessities of life, and when enforced economy is pressing upon the great mass of our countrymen, I desire to urge with all the earnestness at my command that congressional legislation be so limited by strict economy as to exhibit an appreciation of the condition of the Treasury and a sympathy with the straitened circumstances of our fellow-citizens. The duty of importance is the intimate and necessary relation to the task now in hand of providing revenue to meet Government expenditures and yet reducing the people's burden of Federal taxation.

After a hard struggle Tariff reform is directly before us. Nothing so important claims our attention, and nothing so clearly presents itself as both an opportunity and a duty—an opportunity to deserve the gratitude of our fellow-citizens, and a duty imposed upon us by our oft-repeated professions and by the emphatic mandate of the people. After full discussion our countrymen have spoken in favor of this reform, and they have confided the work of its accomplishment to the hands of those who are solemnly pledged to it.

If there is anything in the theory of a representation in public place of the people and their desires, if public officers are really the servants of the people, and if political promises and professions have any binding force, our failure to give the relief so long awaited will be sheer recreancy. Nothing should intervene to distract our attention or disturb our effort until this reform is accomplished by wise and careful legislation. While we should stanchly adhere to the principle that only the necessity of revenue justifies the imposition of Tariff duties and other Federal taxation, and that they should be limited by strict economy, we can not close our eyes to the fact that conditions have grown up among us which in justice and fairness call for discriminating care in the distribution of such duties and taxation as the emergencies of our Government actually demand. Manifestly, if we are to aid the people directly through Tariff reform, one of its most obvious features should be a reduction in present Tariff charges upon the necessities of life. The benefits of such a reduction would be palpable and substantial, seen and felt by thousands who would be better fed and better clothed and better sheltered. These gifts should be the willing benefactions of a government whose highest function is the promotion of the welfare of the people.

Not less closely related to our people's prosperity and well-being is the removal of restrictions upon the importation of the raw materials necessary to our manufactures. The world should be open to our national ingenuity and enterprise. This can not be while Federal legislation, through the imposition of a high Tariff, forbids to American manufacturers as cheap materials as those used by their competitors. It is quite obvious that the enhancement of the price of our manufactured products resulting from this policy not only confines the market for these products within our own borders to the direct disadvantage of our manufacturers, but also increases their cost to our citizens.

The interests of labor are certainly, though indirectly, involved in the future of our Tariff system. The sharp competition and active struggle among our manufacturers to supply the limited demand for their goods soon fill the narrow market to which they are confined. Then follows a suspension of work in mills and factories, a discharge of employees, and distress in the homes of our workingmen. Even if the often disproved assertion could be made good, that a lower rate of wages would result from free raw materials and low Tariff duties, the intelligence of our workingmen leads them quickly to discover that their steady employment, permitted by free raw materials, is the most important factor in their relation to Tariff legislation.

A measure has been prepared by the appropriate congressional committee, embodying Tariff reform on the lines herein suggested, which will be promptly submitted for legislative action. It is the result of much patriotic and unselfish work, and I believe it deals with its subject consistently and as thoroughly as existing conditions permit. I am satisfied that the reduced Tariff duties provided for in the proposed legislation, added to existing internal-revenue taxation, will in the near future, though perhaps not immediately, produce sufficient revenue to meet the needs of the Government.

The committee, after full consideration, and to provide against a temporary deficiency which may exist before the business of the country adjusts itself to the new Tariff schedules, have wisely embraced in their plan a few additional internal-revenue taxes, including small incomes derived from certain corporate investments. These new assessments are not only absolutely just and easily borne, but they have the further merit of being such as can

be remitted without unfavorable business disturbance whenever the necessity of their imposition no longer exists.

On December 19th Mr. Wilson, from the Committee on Ways and Means, reported the Tariff bill which bore his name until it reached the Senate.

On January 24, 1894, a measure providing for an income tax was presented in the House, and certain internal revenue features were incorporated into the bill before its passage. Two principal speeches for and against the measure were made by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Reed, brief extracts from which follow. Mr. Wilson in presenting the measure said:

I do not believe I can open this debate with a better service to the country than by giving a brief recital of the steps and of the means by which the Treasury has been emptied and the Government brought to actual pecuniary straits.

In the last report of Secretary Fairchild he estimated the surplus revenue for the fiscal year 1889 at \$104,000,000. In the first report of his successor, Mr. Windom, the surplus revenue for 1889 was admitted to be \$105,000,000. When Mr. Fairchild vacated his post at the close of Mr. Cleveland's first administration he turned over to his successor an available cash balance, stated in the present form of Treasury statement, of over \$185,000,000. How was that surplus disposed of? Chiefly by the purchase of bonds not yet due, at premiums ranging from 5 to 8 per cent. on the bonds of 1891, and from 27 to 29 per cent. on the bonds of 1907.

Between the 4th day of March, 1889, and the 31st of October of that year, Secretary Windom purchased \$67,000,000 of bonds at the premiums I have stated. In his annual report of 1890 he states the total amount of 4- and 4½- per cent. bonds purchased and redeemed since March 4, 1889, the beginning of the Harrison administration, at \$211,832,450, and the amount paid out for them at \$246,620,741.72, a transaction that threw upon the taxpayers the loss of many millions of dollars. But this was by no means the worst use made of that surplus. The Fifty-first Congress tried its hand upon it.

That Congress diligently sought out new methods and new objects of appropriation. It took up the log-rolling scheme, which Mr. Cleveland had vetoed, of refunding to certain of the States the

direct tax of 1861, and thus got rid of some \$14,000,000. It increased offices, voted subsidies to steamships and bounties to sugar growers. It deliberately fastened upon the country a higher system of permanent expenditure, while it as deliberately proceeded to reduce revenues, after the manner of protection, by repealing revenue taxes, and by diverting a larger share of other taxes from the public Treasury into private pockets. It discovered that tobacco had become a prime necessity to the poor man as well as to the rich, and reduced the excise tax on manufactured tobacco, and abolished all license taxes on its sale. It found another article producing the largest revenue to the Government of any on the customs list, and carrying into the Treasury the largest proportion of what the people actually paid in taxes upon it, and so raw sugar was passed to the free list, with the new development of the protective system in the bounty to sugar producers.

Under the pretext of relieving the poor man from part of the taxes on that necessary of life, manufactured tobacco, it heaped more taxes on those unnecessary luxuries, the clothing of himself and his family. Under the pretext of giving "a free breakfast table" to the American workingman, it untaxed his sugar that it might put heavier taxes upon his knives and forks, his plates and dishes, his table furnishings, and many of the common articles of his food.

Counting the remitted revenue from sugar, which was \$55,000,000 per annum; counting the remitted tobacco taxes, which meanwhile would have produced \$17,000,000, we see that from these two sources alone, since the McKinley bill went into effect, nearly \$200,000,000 of revenue have been surrendered.

But even this would not have emptied the Treasury had there been only the same liberal, but not lavish, scale of expenditure which marked the previous Administration.

We must add the sums given away or appropriated. To the \$14,000,000 of the direct tax refunded there must be added at least \$17,000,000 paid in sugar bounties, and to the sugar bounties must be added the annual increase in our pensions under the law of 1890, which has run up our pension appropriation by \$60,000,000 per year.

Sir, I do not stop to question the justice or the liberality of the dependent pension bill, but I do say that the bill would never have passed had there not been an overflowing Treasury to empty, and

had there not been devised along with that bill a new scheme of taxation, under which those other pensioners, the protected industries of the country, were to get the first pull and the largest share of the taxes levied to pay pensions.

Is it to be wondered at, Mr. Chairman, that, with such diminution of public revenues and such waste of public moneys and such increase of public expenses, the Treasury is to-day in distress? Had these very proper subjects of taxation been retained—tobacco and sugar—we should have had more than \$200,000,000 of revenue from them alone since the Tariff act of 1890. Had these wasteful, and in the main uncalled-for, expenditures been avoided, we should have had over \$200,000,000 less expenditures since the passage of that act.

We begin our task by an effort to free from taxation those things on which the industrial prosperity and growth of our country so largely depend.

Of all the reductions made in this bill there are none in their benefit to the consumer, none in their benefit to the laborer, that can be compared with the removal of the taxes from the materials of industry. We have felt that we could not begin a thorough reform of the existing system, built up, as I have shown, story by story until it had pierced the clouds, except by a removal of all taxation on the great materials that lie at the basis of modern industry, and so the bill proposes to put on the free list wool, iron ore, coal and lumber.

Perhaps I should add that with wool we include all other fibers. I do not believe that it will be necessary for me to take up these articles one by one, and discuss them at length before the committee.

Twice in recent Congresses the battle for free wool has been fought, and twice it has been gained in this House. All the reasons for it and all the reasons against it have been presented to the American people. Free wool has become an acknowledged and well-understood part of the Democratic scheme of Tariff reform. I myself believe that if every other item in this bill were stricken out, if in the wisdom of this committee every other proposed change were abandoned, yet if we could carry through a bill putting wool on the free list and reducing the duties on woollen goods, we should make a great, beneficent, revolutionary step in the work of Tariff reform that would justify all the efforts we have put forth.

Mr. Chairman, if there is any one great industry as to which we could throw down to-day our Tariff walls and defy the world's competition, it is the great iron and steel industry of this country. The consumption of iron and steel is a test of civilization. The consumption of iron and steel is a test of the material progress of any country. All the other countries of the world put together have not kept up with the progress of the United States in the last few years in the production of iron and steel. The world's product of pig iron in 1878 was but little more than 14,000,000 tons. The United States alone produced, in 1892, over 9,000,000 tons. . . .

When the Walker Tariff was carried through Congress it was estimated that it would produce something over \$20,000,000; but in six or seven years it produced \$64,000,000, and that without crippling an industry, without taking labor from a single workingman, but, on the contrary, quickening and giving broader prosperity to the industries of the country and better wages and more comforts of life to the working people. The Committee on Ways and Means expect to follow this bill with an internal-revenue bill that will provide for the temporary deficiency in the revenue or with an amendment to the present bill making such provision. Their plan contemplates an income tax of 2 per cent. on the net earnings of the corporations of the country, a tax of 2 per cent. on personal incomes in excess of \$4,000, an internal-revenue tax of \$1.50 a thousand in place of the present tax of 50 cents on cigarettes, and also an internal-revenue tax of 2 cents a pack on playing cards, and an increase of 10 cents a gallon on whisky. . . .

They have given us control of this Government to-day with their commission to make it a Government of equal rights. They have put into our hands the power to strike down privilege and caste, that for so many years have controlled and battered upon the taxation of the people. We may have our honest differences of opinion as to items of the bill proposed. I question no man's judgment on that; I question no man's fealty to his party on that. But unless the Democratic party takes up this great cause of Tariff reform, to win or lose with it, live or die for it, the Democratic party ought to go out of power, as it will.

Change the items of the bills if you choose; but let us not disappoint the expectations and the long-deferred hope of the American people, of the silent masses who do not vex us with their angry outcries, the farmers and laborers scattered, unable to organize, who

plod their weary way pressed by the burden of taxes. Even if they are voiceless, even if our halls and our corridors are thronged with representatives of the monopolists, and our petition boxes filled with protests of the trusts, let us be true to our faith and our pledges, let us go forward until we make this a country in which every man shall see the gateway of opportunity opening before him, in which the great avenues of industry shall no longer be the private possession of the wealth of the country, but every youth in its borders shall be inspired to rise by his own merits and his own efforts—not born to labor for others nor beaten back in contempt by those who speak of him as a rebel when he seeks his own rights. Let this be a country free to all, equal for all, with the golden ladder of opportunity planted in every cabin, in every home, and at every humble fireside in the land.

On February 1, 1894, Mr. Reed closed the debate for the Republicans. Among other things he said:

Mr. Speaker, in this debate, which has extended over many weeks, one remarkable result has already been reached, a result of the deepest importance to this country. That result is, that the bill before us is odious to both sides of the House. It meets with favor nowhere, and commands the respect of neither party. On this side we believe that while it pretends to be for protection it does not afford it, and on the other side they believe that while it looks towards Free-Trade it does not accomplish it.

Those who will vote against this bill will do so because it opens our markets to the destructive competition of foreigners, and those who vote for it do it with the reservation that they will instantly devote themselves to a new crusade against whatever barriers are left.

Whatever speeches have been made in defense of the bill on the other side, whether by gentlemen who were responsible only to their own constituencies or by the gentleman from West Virginia, who ought to have been steadied by his sense of responsibility to the whole country, have one and all, with but rare exceptions, placed their authors uncompromisingly, except for temporary purposes, on the side of unrestricted Free Trade. . . .

The history of Protection has been most remarkable. Fifty years ago the question seemed to be closed. Great Britain had adopted Free Trade, the United States had started in the same direction, and the

whole world seemed about to follow. To-day the entire situation seems to be reversed. The whole civilized world except Great Britain has become protectionist, and the very year last passed has witnessed the desertion of English principles by the last English colony which held out. This has been done in defiance of the opinions of every political economist in England who wrote prior to 1850, and of most of those who have written since.

When you add to this that the arguments against it have seemed so clear and simple that every schoolboy can comprehend them and every patriot with suitable lungs could fill the atmosphere with the catchwords, the wonder increases that in every country it should still flourish and maintain its vigor. Ten years ago it was equally true at one and the same time that every boy who graduated from college graduated a Free Trader, and that every one of them who afterward became a producer or distributor of our goods became also a protectionist.

Whether the universal sentiment in favor of Protection as applied to every country is sound or not, I do not stop to discuss. Whether it is best for the United States of America alone concerns me now, and the first thing I have to say is, that after thirty years of protection, undisturbed by any serious menace of Free Trade, up to the very year now last past, this country was the greatest and most flourishing nation on the face of this earth. Moreover, with the shadow of this unjustifiable bill resting cold upon it, with mills closed, with hundreds of thousands of men unemployed, industry at a standstill, and prospects before it more gloomy than ever marked its history—except once—this country is still the greatest and the richest that the sun shines on, or ever did shine on. . . .

It so happens that America is filled with workers. There are idle people, but they are fewer here than elsewhere except now, when we are living under the shadow of the Wilson bill. If these workers are all getting good wages they are themselves the market, and if the wages are increasing the market is also increasing. The fact that in this country all the workers have been getting better wages than elsewhere is the very reason why our market is the best in the world, and why all the nations of the world are trying to break into it. We do not appreciate the nature of our market ourselves.

I have given you already the glowing testimony of Englishmen who have seen us with their own eyes. "Amazing prosperity," "Greatest market in the world," "Paradise of the workingman."

These are strong words; but let us see if cold mathematics do not put to shame the fervor of adjectives.

We are nominally 70,000,000 people. That is what we are in mere numbers. But as a market for manufactures and choice foods we are potentially 175,000,000 as compared with the next best nation on the globe. Nor is this difficult to prove. Whenever an Englishman earns one dollar an American earns a dollar and sixty cents. I speak within bounds. Both can get the food that keeps body and soul together and the shelter which the body must have for 60 cents. Take 60 cents from a dollar and you have 40 cents left. Take that same 60 cents from the dollar and sixty and you have a dollar left—just two and a half times as much. That surplus can be spent in choice foods, in house furnishings, in fine clothes, and all the comforts of life—in a word, in the products of our manufactures. That makes our population as consumers of products as compared with the English population, 200,000,000. Their population is 37,000,000 as consumers of products which one century ago were pure luxuries, while our population is equivalent to 175,000,000.

If this is our comparison with England, what is the comparison with the rest of the world, whose markets our committee are so eager to have in exchange for our own? Mulhall gives certain statistics which will serve to make the comparison clear. On page 365 of his *Dictionary of Statistics* he says the total yearly product of the manufactures of the world is £4,474,000,000, of which the United States produces £1,443,000,000.

I do not vouch, nor can anybody vouch, for these figures, but the proportion of one third to two thirds nobody can fairly dispute. We produce one third, and the rest of the world, England included, two thirds.

The population of the world is 1,500,000,000, of which we have 70,000,000, which leaves 1,430,000,000 for the rest of mankind. We use all our manufactures, or the equivalent of them. Hence we are equal to one half the whole globe outside of ourselves, England included, and compared as a market with the rest of the world our population is equal to about 700,000,000.

I repeat, as compared with England herself as a market our people are equivalent to 175,000,000. As compared with the rest of the world, England included, we are equal as a market to 700,000,000. These figures more than justify the adjectives of the Englishman, and the cold facts of mathematics surpass the spasms of rhetoric.

We know, my friends, that before this tribunal we all of us plead in vain. Why we fail, let those answer who read the touching words of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural and remember that he pleaded with these same men and their predecessors. Where he failed we cannot hope to succeed. But though we fail here to-day, like our great leader of other days in the larger field before the mightier tribunal which will finally and forever decide this question, we shall be more than conquerors; for this great nation, shaking off, as it has once before, the influence of a lower civilization, will go on to fulfill its high destiny, until over the South, as well as over the North, shall be spread the full measure of that amazing prosperity which is the wonder of the world.

The vote on the internal-revenue amendment, which embodied the income-tax provision, was as follows: yeas, 182; nays, 48; 122 not voting. The vote on the passage of the bill as a whole was as follows: yeas, 204; nays, 140; 8 not voting. On March 20th the bill was reported in the Senate, and made the special order for April 2d, when Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Finance, made the opening argument. For months the measure was before the Senate, and during this time between six and seven hundred amendments were proposed and adopted.

Mr. Gorman was perhaps the most violent in his opposition to the bill when it came to the Senate, but he was ably assisted by Senators Hill and Murphy of New York, Brice of Ohio, and Smith of New Jersey. These men were well aware of the ruin that the Wilson bill, if enacted into law, would bring to their home industries, and boldly and courageously fought those schedules in which they and their constituents were personally interested. The bill now became known as the "Gorman-Wilson bill," in fact, the House measure was hardly recognizable in the measure which the Senate finally passed and sent back. A word should be given to the manner in which the bill was framed in the House. In distinct contrast to the method of framing the McKinley law was the utter disregard shown by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee to petitions and requests for hearings from American laborers and manufacturers, while manufacturers

abroad and importers were freely consulted. The bill was practically constructed in secret sessions of the Democratic members of the committee, and as it was presented to and passed by the House it presented features more obnoxious to American business interests than even the Walker bill of 1846 or the Mills bill of 1888. It could only be compared to the Compromise law of 1833. Had it become a law in its original form, the destruction to American industrial interests can hardly be imagined. There can be no doubt whatever that such destruction was foreseen, if not intended, when we read from the speeches made in support of the measure such sentiment as the following, from the speech of John DeWitt Warner, a Free-Trade advocate, who said, January 10, 1894:

If, however, in some cases it shall turn out to be as those who are engaged in them [our industries] fear, if whenever the support of taxation upon others is withdrawn from them they find that they can not make a living here, then all that workingmen of my district have to say is this: "If you are going away, go and God speed to you; for the quicker you go the better we will be off; if you are going to die here, die, and we will plant flowers over your grave; for your room is worth more than your company."

The applause which greeted this sentence on the Democratic side of the House proves that it was not the thought and wish of Mr. Warner alone. But many of the destructive features of the bill were modified in the Senate, and the Democratic party was saved to some extent from the disgrace and obloquy which posterity would have visited upon the sponsors of such an iniquitous measure, and yet it must be well understood that it was the House bill in its entirety, with its most obnoxious features, which had the approval of the President.

On July 2d, before the reconstructed bill had left the Senate, President Cleveland, in a letter to Chairman Wilson, said:

There is no excuse for mistaking or misapprehending the feeling and temper of the rank and file of the Democracy. They are downcast under the assertion that their party fails in ability to manage the government, and they are apprehensive that efforts to bring about Tariff reform may fail; but they are much more downcast,

and apprehensive in their fear that Democratic principles may be surrendered. . . .

Every true Democrat and every sincere Tariff reformer knows that this bill, in its present form and as it will be submitted to the conference, falls far short of the consummation for which we have long labored, for which we have suffered defeat without discouragement; which, in its anticipation, gave us a rallying cry in our day of triumph, and which, in its promise of accomplishment, is so interwoven with Democratic pledges and Democratic success, that our abandonment of the cause or principles upon which it rests means party perfidy and party dishonor.

After the reading of the letter from which we have quoted, Mr. Reed said:

I take it for granted, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman to whom the letter was addressed to which we have just listened has observed all the proprieties which gentlemen ordinarily observe with regard to their correspondence, and that a letter which is marked "personal" having been addressed to him, he has not been guilty in any way of making it public in this fashion without the express consent of the author.

We now understand, then, that the President has been pleased to address a communication to the House of Representatives through his faithful Committee of Ways and Means. This seems to be a just reciprocal action on his part; for the House will recollect that the Committee of Ways and Means communicated to this House its intention of having an income tax through the kindness of the President of the United States.

Whether this relationship thus intimate between a committee of this House and the President of the United States was contemplated by the Constitution of the United States or not, is hardly worth the trouble of inquiry, in the shape in which the matter now stands before the House. Least of all would anybody on this side find fault with the severe language which the President—the Democratic President—has seen fit to use about a Democratic Senate. Undoubtedly his personal intercourse with the members of that body and his official relations with them have enabled him to put vigorously all the strength of reproof which that letter contains. But the transaction as it stands to-day is between them and him. Far be it from us to interfere. If he has made a righteous charge, their

characters are blackened; and if he has made a false charge, it is for them to see that justice is done to the truth of history.

We have no concern with it except as spectators. The public aspect of this affair, however, shows that the newspaper rumors have had all the truth that newspaper rumors ever have in regard to the relations between this committee of the House and the President of the United States; and it is shown very clearly that the committee has his directions to consent to a sufficient tax upon sugar in consideration of the fact that coal and iron ore shall be brought here free. In other words, in the great contest between the trust which manufactures the sugar of this country and which is a home corporation, and the great corporation which is to exploit the mines of Nova Scotia, and enrich by \$10,000,000 the set of men who are engaged in that enterprise, the President and a committee of this House takes the side of the foreign corporation with its Boston promoters. Which is best, let them decide. Which is most satisfactory to the people, let the country decide. It is a matter that does not concern us.

In the Senate the Democratic leader, Mr. Gorman, referring to the letter on July 23d, said :

Mr. President, the declarations of the chairman of the conference committee on the part of a co-ordinate branch, which I have a right to allude to as a matter which concerns both Houses, accompanied as it was by the most extraordinary, the most uncalled for, and the most unwise communication that was ever penned by a President of the United States, place this body in a position where its members must see to it that the dignity and honor of this Chamber shall be maintained. It places me, Mr. President, in a position where I must tell the story of events exactly as they occurred. Never in the course of my life—and I have had connection with party management almost all my life—have I thought the provocation was sufficient, the abuse and misrepresentation violent enough, or the aspersion of character sufficient to induce me to talk of private matters in public; but the limit of endurance has been reached. It is not my honor, it is the honor of many of my fellows, which impels me to make the statement which I now make.

Mr. Gorman then went into the history of the Senate law and the various amendments which had been offered, appeal-

ing for confirmation of his statements to his fellow Senators, particularly Mr. Vest of Missouri and Mr. Jones of Arkansas. But the breach became wider daily, not only between the President and certain influential members of his party, but between the different members of the Senate, and on August 10th, after the bill, which had passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 34, 12 not voting, had been non-concurred in by the House and sent to conference, where it had been debated for several weeks without result, Mr. Hill of New York offered the following resolution in the Senate:

Resolved, That the conferees on the part of the Senate who are now considering the differences between the two Houses on House bill 4864, being an act entitled "An Act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," be and they are hereby requested to report to the Senate if they are likely to come to an agreement, and if not to report to the Senate a disagreement, and also to report the principal items of disagreement, so that the Senate may take action thereon.

The Democratic leaders of the House, now fearing that the bill would fail entirely, called a caucus and it was decided to surrender to the Senate. For this purpose a special rule was introduced providing for immediate action. In opposing this special rule Mr. Reed said:

I think your feeling, gentlemen, is perfectly natural. The job that you have got to do is such that the sooner you get over it the better you will feel. But at the same time you will have to listen to a plain statement of what you are doing, and you will recognize it yourselves, and it is because you recognize it in advance that you are crying, "Vote!" "Vote!" "Vote!" Your class of people in the latter day will be crying, in similar fashion, for the mountains to fall on them.

The first proposition upon which you are called to vote is that you will take action upon papers which are not before you, that you will violate the principles of parliamentary law in order to do a thing which you yourselves have proclaimed to be disgusting. You are going to trample upon the barriers which preserve the

rights of the people of this country in order to perform an act which would be distasteful to gentlemen who were differently constituted from yourselves.

You are going to do it in defiance of all your protestations, in defiance of all your declarations. You are going to die not only in the last ditch, but in the very lowest part of the ditch. You realize how distasteful and dissatisfying all this is, and you put into the order some trimmings. You are satisfied that what you are going to do needs seasoning, and you propose to garnish it with suitable seasoning too. You are going to enact a bill which you believe not to be an honest bill, and you are going to accompany it with a parade which you also know is not honest. You are going to desert the "roll of honor" in order to trick yourselves out with the gewgaws that are contained in this proposition. You are going to give us free sugar—yes, in your minds. You are going to give us free coal—oh, my friends! And then you are going to give us free iron, and you are going to do it in a bold and manly way, like the backdown you are making here.

You are going to have no committee of this House, not even your own pliant committee, to stand between you and the noble purpose that thrills your souls. You fear that a bill for free sugar will be contaminated by passing through a committee which may have become an appendage of another portion of what has been discovered to be the legislative branch of this country. You are going to march to free coal over the dead bodies of the Ways and Means Committee. You are going to have free iron ore in defiance of the rules of this House, in defiance of the rules which you have always proclaimed were necessary for the due transaction of public business. You are going to give half an hour to the discussion of free sugar in all its branches! You are going to give fifteen minutes on a side to discuss the question of coal! You are going to give fifteen minutes on a side to discuss the question of iron! You are going to give an hour on a side to discuss 600 amendments, no one of which has been touched by this House, one tenth of a second for each amendment! Now, how do you like the whole programme? You are going to vote it; say how you like it. Providence loves a cheerful devourer.

Mr. Wilson, in moving to rescind the House order for a conference, to discharge the House conferees, and recede from disagreement to the Senate amendments, said:

If we have taken out of this fight no other lesson than that, it has been to us a great, an inspiring, and valuable lesson. If we have not been able to get all the mandates of the people told us to get, all that the high enthusiasm of the people expected us to get, we have brought this dangerous fact face to face with American freemen, and we have made some breach, I hope, in the protective system through which the hosts of American freemen will continue to march.

I shall not say to the people of this country, I shall not say to my colleagues here (from whom even at the expense of what may seem ill taste on this occasion I cannot withhold the expression of my unspeakable gratitude for their personal friendship and their loyal and enthusiastic support)—I shall not say to them that white is black or that false is true, or that Protection is a just and honest system of taxation. Nothing which is not done right ever lasts. No work that is not thorough ever remains undisturbed. You can settle no question like the great question of taxation permanently and safely except upon the eternal basis of right and of liberty.

I shall not attempt, as I said at the outset, to explain the merits or to dwell upon the demerits of the six hundred and odd amendments to this bill which this House is about, of necessity, to concur in. Perhaps I could not do justice as yet to the merits of the amendments. My attention has necessarily been so constantly and so steadily directed to their demerits that it would require some experience to learn what the merits are. But whatever the measure of shortcoming of this bill in its present form—whatever be its demerits in mere schedules—this I do believe, that it is not as bad as the McKinley bill.

The vote was then taken and resulted as follows: yeas, 182; nays, 106; 61 not voting. Several so-called "popgun bills" were then passed, providing for free coal, free iron ore, free barbed wire, and free sugar, but no action was taken on these measures in the Senate. The Gorman-Wilson bill became a law without the President's signature. His reasons for neither signing nor vetoing the measure were given in a letter to Representative Catchings of Mississippi, under date of August 27th. In this letter he wrote:

I do not claim to be better than the masses of my party, nor do I wish to avoid any responsibility which, on account of the passage of

this law, I ought to bear as a member of the Democratic organization. Neither will I permit myself to be separated from my party to such an extent as might be implied by a veto of the Tariff legislation, which, though disappointing, is still chargeable to Democratic efforts. But there are provisions in this bill which are not in line with honest Tariff reform, and it contains inconsistencies and crudities which ought not to appear in Tariff laws or laws of any kind. Besides, there were, as you and I well know, incidents accompanying the passage of the bill through Congress which made every sincere Tariff reformer unhappy, while influences surrounded it in its later stages, and interfered with its final construction, which ought not to be recognized or tolerated in Democratic Tariff reform.

And yet, notwithstanding all its vicissitudes and all the bad treatment it received at the hands of pretended friends, it presents a vast improvement to existing conditions. It will certainly lighten many Tariff burdens that now rest heavily upon the people. It is not only a barrier against the return of mad protection, but it furnishes a vantage ground from which must be waged further aggressive operations against protected monopolies and governmental favoritism. I take my place with the rank and file of the Democratic party who believe in Tariff reform and who know what it is, who refuse to accept the result, embodied in this bill as the close of the war, who are not blinded to the fact that the livery of Democratic reform has been stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection, and who have marked the places where the deadly blight of treason has blasted the counsels of the brave in their hour of might.

The bill went into operation August 28, 1894. Senator Mills on August 16th said in the Senate:

We are going backward instead of forward. We do not at all accept this as a final settlement of the question of Tariff reform. We have carried the outposts that defended the citadel of the enemy, and we intend to push the contest until we carry the gates of the city and sweep the streets of the enemy and take everything from him—remove all barriers and permit Free Trade all over the world.

While Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, said at about the same time:

The Democratic party is irrevocably pledged to the obliteration of Protectionism in all its forms from our revenue system, and we may be sure that it will not have ceased its consideration of the Tariff nor close this interesting chapter in our domestic economy until the last obstruction to free commerce with the nations of the world has been removed. The conflict between Free Trade and Protection is an irrepressible conflict.

The session closed August 28th, the Tariff question having overshadowed every other measure. An enabling act for the admission of Utah as a State passed the House December 13, 1893. The Senate passed the measure July 10, 1894, and on July 16th it was approved by the President. Utah was admitted as a State January 4, 1896. On December 15, 1893, a measure passed the House of Representatives for the admission of Arizona, and on June 28, 1894, a bill to enable the people in New Mexico to form a constitution and State government, for the purpose of being admitted into the Union, passed the House of Representatives. A measure for the admission of Oklahoma was also introduced, but none of these bills were acted upon in the Senate.

CHAPTER XII.

BOND ISSUES—VENEZUELA BOUNDARY QUESTION—TARIFF DEBATE IN THE HOUSE—SILVER DISCUSSION.

FOR the first time since the close of the Civil War, with one exception, when the excess of government expenditures over receipts were \$1,297,709, the fiscal year 1894 saw a deficit in the Treasury to the amount of \$69,803,261. The government receipts for the fiscal year 1894 were \$88,914,064 less than the year before. This was due in large part to the anticipation of the new Tariff law. Importers, knowing that there would be a considerable reduction of duties, held off the entering of millions of dollars' worth of goods until after the new law should come into operation. In 1895 the deficit exceeded \$42,000,000; in 1896 it was over \$25,000,000, and in 1897 it exceeded \$18,000,000. The receipts from customs during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, amounted to \$203,355,017. During the next fiscal year, 1894, the receipts had fallen to \$131,818,531, a loss of over \$70,000,000 in customs receipts alone. From March 1, 1869, to March 1, 1893, the Republican party had not only by its wise financial and Tariff legislation succeeded in meeting the expenses of the government, but had in addition extinguished \$1,881,367,873 of the national debt. During the second administration of Mr. Cleveland the debt was increased by \$262,000,000 between March 3, 1893, and March 1, 1895, exclusive of interest.

The gold reserve of \$100,000,000 then required by law was early broken into, and on February 1, 1894, Mr. Cleveland was obliged to sell bonds to the amount of \$50,000,000. A second bond issue of \$50,000,000 was made on November 1, 1894, a

third on February 1, 1895, of \$62,315,000, and a fourth issue on January 12, 1896, amounting to \$100,000,000. On January 28, 1895, the gold reserve amounted to only \$52,463,173, and on that day President Cleveland sent to Congress a message in which he said:

Since the 17th day of January, 1894, our bonded interest-bearing debt has been increased \$100,000,000 for the purpose of obtaining gold to replenish our coin reserve. Two issues were made amounting to \$50,000,000 each—one in January and the other in November. As a result of the first issue there was realized something more than \$58,000,000 in gold. Between that issue and the succeeding one in November, comprising a period of about ten months, nearly \$103,000,000 in gold were drawn from the Treasury. This made the second issue necessary, and upon that more than \$58,000,000 in gold was again realized. Between the date of this second issue and the present time, covering a period of only about two months, more than \$69,000,000 in gold have been drawn from the Treasury. These large sums of gold were expended without any cancellation of Government obligations or in any permanent way benefiting our people or improving our pecuniary situation.

The financial events of the past year suggest facts and conditions which should certainly arrest attention.

More than \$172,000,000 in gold have been drawn out of the Treasury during the year for the purpose of shipment abroad or hoarding at home.

While nearly \$103,000,000 of this amount was drawn out during the first ten months of the year, a sum aggregating more than two-thirds of that amount, being about \$69,000,000, was drawn out during the following two months, thus indicating a marked acceleration of the depleting process with the lapse of time.

The obligations upon which this gold has been drawn from the Treasury are still outstanding and are available for use in repeating the exhausting operation with shorter intervals as our perplexities accumulate. Conditions are certainly supervening tending to make the bonds which may be issued to replenish our gold less useful for that purpose.

An adequate gold reserve is in all circumstances absolutely essential to the upholding of our public credit and to the maintenance of our high national character.

Our gold reserve has again reached such a stage of diminution as to require its speedy re-enforcement.

The aggravations that must inevitably follow present conditions and methods will certainly lead to misfortune and loss, not only to our national credit and prosperity and to financial enterprise, but to those of our people who seek employment as a means of livelihood, and to those whose only capital is their daily labor.

On the same day Mr. Springer of Illinois introduced into the House a bill authorizing "the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds, to maintain a sufficient gold reserve, and to redeem and retire United States notes, and for other purposes." On February 7th the bill failed of passage by a vote of 135 to 162, 48 not voting. On the next day the President sent to Congress a message announcing a third sale of bonds. This was afterwards known as the sale to the so-called "bond syndicate," the latter being composed of Messrs. August Belmont & Co., of New York, on behalf of Messrs. N. M. Rothschild & Sons, of London, England, and themselves, and Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, on behalf of Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co., of London. The fourth sale of bonds, that of January 12, 1896, for \$100,000,000, was through public bids.

The third session of the Fifty-third Congress began on Monday, December 3, 1894. The time was taken up mostly with financial subjects. In the Senate the Nicaraguan Canal question was debated, and a bill favoring that project was passed by a vote of 31 to 21, 23 not voting. The Fifty-third Congress came to a close on March 4, 1895. It was the first and only Democratic Congress which had had with it a Democratic Executive since the advent of the Republican party to power. Its only legislation of great importance was the enactment of the Gorman-Wilson Tariff law without the signature of the President, and the repeal of the so-called "Sherman Silver Purchase law," with the aid of Republican votes.

The verdict of the people was rendered at the polls November, 1894, when 248 Republicans and only 104 Democrats were elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress, while the Democratic majority in the Senate was changed to a Republican plurality. This Congress assembled December 2, 1895. Wil-

liam P. Frye of Maine was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and in the House Thomas B. Reed of Maine was chosen Speaker, receiving 240 votes to 95 for Mr. Crisp of Georgia.

During the early part of 1895 the Supreme Court rendered several important decisions. The Gorman-Wilson law contained a provision that from and after January 1, 1895, and until January 1, 1900, there should be

levied, collected, and paid annually upon the gains, profits, and income received in the preceding calendar year by every citizen of the United States, whether residing at home or abroad, and every person residing therein, whether said gains, profits, or income derived from any kind of property, rents, interest, dividends, or salaries, or from any profession, trade, employment, or vocation carried on in the United States or elsewhere, or from any other source whatever, a tax of 2 per centum on the amount so derived over and above \$4,000;

and a similar tax was imposed upon the incomes from all property owned, and of all business, profession, or trade carried on in the United States by citizens of other countries. The constitutionality of this act was early questioned, and reached the Supreme Court. The arguments on both sides were made by famous counsel, including W. D. Guthrie, Clarence A. Seward, George F. Edmunds, Joseph H. Choate, James C. Carter, Attorney-General Richard Olney, and Assistant Attorney-General Edward B. Whitney. A decision was rendered April 8, 1895. On the question whether the entire act was unconstitutional no opinion was given, the court being equally divided, Justice Jackson being absent. The dissenting opinions were delivered by Justices White and Harlan, and also by Justice Field, who held the whole act to be null and void. The decision held that the portion of the act providing for levying taxes upon rents or income derived from real estate or from the interest on municipal bonds was repugnant to the Constitution. The tax on income from real estate was held to be a direct tax, which the Constitution requires shall be apportioned among the several States according to population. It was

held, as to municipal bonds, that it was entirely a State matter and not a subject of Federal jurisdiction. On a petition for a rehearing the matter was again argued before a full bench, and a decision given May 20th. Chief Justice Fuller declared the whole act unconstitutional on the ground that the tax was a direct tax, and not laid by apportionment as required by the Constitution. Justices Harlan, Brown, Jackson, and White each delivered a dissenting opinion, the court consequently standing 5 to 4 against the law.

It may be said that the decision of the Supreme Court in 1895 was contrary to an opinion of the same court in 1880, which affirmed the constitutionality of the previous income-tax law. In the earlier case the income tax was held unanimously to be an excise tax instead of a direct tax, and to be constitutional, as Congress has power to lay and collect excises, the only restriction being, that they shall be uniform throughout the United States.

It was decided by the Supreme Court January 21, 1895, that the so-called Sherman Anti-Trust act had no application to such corporations as the Sugar Trust, because of the fact that the sugar concern is engaged primarily in manufacturing, and only secondarily in selling, and that the control of the manufacture of a particular article cannot be a restraint of interstate commerce such as is within the power of Congress to regulate.

On May 27, 1895, a decision was rendered maintaining the jurisdiction of circuit courts in issuing and enforcing injunctions against interference with interstate commerce and the passage of the mails. It was held that the action of circuit courts having full jurisdiction in the case was not open to a review by the Supreme Court. The case in hand had come before the court on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The decision upheld the sentence which had been imposed upon Eugene V. Debs and others in contempt in disobeying injunction orders issued by the circuit court at Chicago during the railroad strike of July, 1894.

On the same day a decision was rendered affirming the decision of the court below in denying a writ of *habeas corpus*

applied for by a Chinese merchant in San Francisco, who was denied readmission into the United States on his return from a visit to his native land. The constitutionality of the Chinese exclusion act was reaffirmed, and under the act of August 18, 1894, it was held that the courts had no authority to review the decision of the executive officers of the Government.

The first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress began December 2, 1895. On taking the oath of office as Speaker, Mr. Reed said:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: It will not be unbecoming in me, I hope, if I acknowledge to this assembly that it is very agreeable to me to stand once more in the place which I left four years ago. Of the past, however, I shall not speak, for the past speaks for itself in terms more fitting and appropriate than any words which could come from my lips. Nor shall I speak of the future, for we are not now putting off the harness, but putting it on. Yet I think I may venture to say of the future, in the light of the past, that if we do some things which for the moment seem inadequate, it may be that time, which has justified itself of us on many occasions, may do so again. Those who have acted with wisdom heretofore may be fairly expected to act with wisdom hereafter.

I am sorry to say that the pleasure associated with the honor you have bestowed on me, an honor which no American citizen can fail to appreciate, and for which I give thanks, is but for the moment, while the cares and responsibilities extend over many days.

So far as the performance of my duties affects the whole people of the United States, I invoke their considerable judgment. So far as it affects the members of this House, I ask from both sides of the Chamber that cordial co-operation without which I cannot hope to succeed, assuring them that no effort on my part will be spared to aid them in the performance of their duties by that entire impartiality which is their just due.

The President's message was of extreme length, going thoroughly into affairs of State and the financial condition of the Government. Early in the session the Venezuelan boundary controversy became the absorbing topic, and on December 7th a special message on the subject was sent to the Senate by

the President, with a letter from Mr. Olney to Mr. Bayard concerning the efforts at arbitration, and an explanation of the position of the administration in regard to the Monroe Doctrine. In accordance with the President's suggestion Mr. Hitt of Illinois introduced in the House on December 18th the following:

A bill making appropriation for the expenses of a commission to investigate and report on the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of \$100,000 be, and the same is hereby appropriated for the expenses of a commission, to be appointed by the President, to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana.

The unanimous consent of the House for its immediate consideration was asked, and after a short debate the bill was passed, having been amended by the insertion, after "sum of \$100,000," of the words "or so much thereof as may be necessary." On December 19th it was introduced in the Senate, and Senator Lodge offered an amendment, adding the following sentence to the resolution: "And said commission shall report with the least possible delay, not later than April 1, 1896." Senator Morgan of Alabama concluded some remarks with the following:

Now, I think that the British people, when they understand this matter, when they see that it is attracting the attention of the civilized world, will not press their contention, especially when they remember that the Monroe doctrine was perhaps not so much the doctrine of Monroe as it was the doctrine of Canning, of England, then Prime Minister, which was agreed to by the United States and Great Britain, and that the power to prevent encroachment by European powers upon American territory or upon American states was asserted not only by the United States, but by the co-operation and consent of England.

Senator Lodge, in replying, said:

Mr. President, for my own part I do not desire to put the slightest

opposition in the way of the Executive or of the Senator who no doubt has represented the wishes of the Executive upon this floor. I cordially agree with the President's message. It is the right, the sound, the American position for the United States to take. But that which is of the utmost importance is that we should show to the world that we are united, without distinction of party or section, in support of the policy which the message outlines. We should be able to say, as Webster said in the House of Representatives, that our politics stop at the water's edge, and that when we come to dealing with a foreign question we deal with it simply as Americans.

It has been freely charged in the English newspapers published in London, and also in that small part of the British press which is published in the city of New York, that this is a matter of politics; that it is being used by the President for electioneering purposes, and that it has been used by the Republicans with that view. That is the most mistaken view ever uttered. The American people, without distinction of party, believe in the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and are prepared to uphold it at any cost. They desire the appointment of a commission, not to act as a board of arbitration between one country and another, but to inform the United States on what line they ought to stand when they prepare to resist further English aggressions on American soil. The action of the commission is to be for our own information.

I have given some attention to the Venezuelan question; I have studied it during the past year with a good deal of care; I have examined every map and document, I think, that is accessible here, and I think I know enough about it to say that there is nothing in the case that cannot be considered within the period specified in my amendment, and that if there are papers to be brought from Madrid or from The Hague they can be brought within that time and laid before the commission. I think fixing the date will strengthen the hands of the Executive, and will give notice to the world that while we are proceeding deliberately and temperately we are also proceeding with absolute firmness; that we mean exactly what we say; that we propose to sustain the President in the position which he has taken, and that at a given time we shall be prepared for action in defense of the line reported as the true boundary by the commission. We want nothing indefinite about the commission. We want them to report as soon as possible, and then we will sustain the Monroe doctrine with all the strength of the Republic.

The bill was read a second time on December 20th, when Senator Morgan presented a substitute for the House bill which was offered by the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was in the following words:

That the sum of \$100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby appropriated for the expenses of a commission to consist of three members, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to investigate and report to him the facts in regard to the divisional line between the republic of Venezuela and British Guiana: *Provided*, That section 2 of the act approved July 31, 1894, making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government, and for other purposes, shall not apply to any commissioners appointed under this act.

Senator Lodge then withdrew the amendment he had offered the day before, and spoke in favor of the substitute of the committee. The substitute was finally laid upon the table, and the bill was reported without amendment and passed, being signed by the President on December 21st.

On December 20th the President sent to the Senate a message explaining the deplorable financial condition of the government, asking authority for a further issue of bonds. On December 26th Mr. Dingley of Maine, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced a bill from that committee: "To temporarily increase revenue to meet the expenses of the government and provide against a deficiency." This bill was in no sense a measure for a general Tariff revision, but was designed to meet the necessity for increased revenue to enable the government to meet its expenses.

Mr. Henderson of Ohio, speaking upon a resolution concerning a rule to govern progress of the bill, said:

The Chief Executive of the nation has by a special message called our attention to the financial condition of the country. He has sent us two messages, in fact, which have produced a high degree of excitement throughout the country, and we are given to understand that the business centers are staggering under the weight of the consternation that has followed what I may call two feverish

declarations from the White House. The object of the bill just reported to the House is to exercise the judgment of Congress, to which the President referred the subject of his message. The President has stated the conditions as he sees them, and has referred them for action to the wisdom of Congress. The Executive and the majority of the members of this House may perhaps differ as to the causes and the nature of these troubles, but these bills are designed to meet the existing difficulties as the majority of the House see them.

The resolution concerning the rule was passed by a vote of 208 to 90, 57 not voting. The bill was then vigorously debated, being supported by Mr. Dingley of Maine, Mr. Payne of New York, Mr. Dalzell of Pennsylvania, Mr. Hopkins of Illinois, Mr. Grosvenor of Ohio, Mr. Johnson of Indiana, Mr. Arnold of Pennsylvania, Mr. Dovener of West Virginia, Mr. Watson of Ohio, Mr. Knox of Massachusetts, Mr. Dolliver of Iowa, Mr. Wilson of Ohio, and Mr. Meiklejohn of Nebraska. It was opposed by Mr. Crisp of Georgia, Mr. Dockery of Missouri, Mr. Wheeler of Alabama, Mr. Turner of Georgia, Mr. McMillin of Tennessee, Mr. Underwood of Alabama, and Mr. Bell of Colorado. Mr. Dolliver of Iowa, replying to Mr. Turner of Georgia, said:

I do not propose to enter into a controversy on the subject of Protection. Everybody must judge that for himself; but I do say that my Democratic friend from Georgia ought to be very careful about attributing any very great amount of American prosperity to the operation of the law of 1894. If the American people can be persuaded of that it will do more to popularize perfidy and dishonor than anything that has ever happened in this world.

My friend asks the Republican majority why we do not bring in a general Tariff law, and he refers to the leadership of this House as wanting in courage; but the leadership of this House can always be relied on not to "fight as one that beateth the air." But we know, and everybody knows, that a Republican Tariff law cannot be enacted by this Congress. We do not know that the President of the United States would not sign the present bill. Does my friend speak by some commission when he says that the Administration declines this relief? We have the best reason for knowing

that this law will please the Chief Magistrate. We had a letter from the President in the last session of Congress which contains evidence that he will sign this law, restoring a reasonable revenue duty upon wool; and if my friend will listen to me I will read exactly what he says. He says:

"In these circumstances it may be well to excite our wonder that Democrats are willing to depart from this most Democratic of all Tariff principles and that the inconsistent absurdity of such a proposed departure should be emphasized by the suggestion that the wool of the farmer be put on the free list and the protection of Tariff taxation be placed around the iron ore and coal of corporations and capitalists."

The present law leaves a duty upon iron ore and coal substantially equivalent to 60 per cent. of the law of 1890.

With all his eloquence and all his ability the gentleman from Georgia cannot explain how this great agricultural interest of the country was put on the free list, while 60 per cent. of the McKinley rate was retained upon iron ore and coal. So I say that there is no man who knows the heart of the President as it has been revealed to us in these delicate communications we have had from the throne. Who is authorized to say that he will put the signature of his executive disapproval upon this bill for the relief of the Treasury?

To-day we come to offer to the uneasy Treasury of the United States an increment of revenue of \$40,000,000 annually, and then we propose to clothe the Secretary with discretion to make a legal, salutary use of the national credit to protect the solvency of the Government and to maintain the value and parity of all the outstanding currency of the United States. There can be no permanent disaster in a country like this. As my friend from Iowa has said, a country with assets and integrity is always safe in the business world. There is one thing that we ought all to be agreed upon, whatever else we are divided about, and that is that the Treasury of the United States should no longer be left at the mercy of the organized avarice of the world without money to pay or power to borrow or means for increasing the public revenue.

The bill was passed by a vote of 228 to 83, 44 not voting. On the following day it was read twice by its title in the Senate, and referred to the Committee on Finance. On February 4, 1896, it was reported back, with an amendment to strike out

all after the enacting clause and substitute an act to provide for the free coinage of silver and for other purposes. Several weeks were consumed in a debate and voting upon the matter of recommitting the bill and taking it up, when Senator Morrill said :

Mr. President, permit me to say that when on the 13th of this month I made the motion to take up the Tariff bill, and it was lost by a vote of 21 to 29, I then thought the bill was hopelessly defeated, but I felt that it was my duty in so important a matter to give an opportunity for any change of mind on the part of the voters.

Now, it is perfectly obvious that the Republican party is in a minority in this Senate. The bill on Feb. 13 was defeated by 5 Populist and 4 Silver Republican votes. I do not think there has been any change so far as the vote now discloses since that occasion. I think that the Republicans on the Committee on Finance will be willing to welcome any decent bill to add something to the revenue of the Treasury Department, whether it is in conformity to their views or not as to the principle of Tariff, and will be ready to support any such bill which we have an opportunity to support before the session shall close. But so far as this bill is concerned, I wish to say that I do not think that it will become me to ask the Senate for any further consumption of time.

The discussion, however, was continued for some time, developing into arguments *pro* and *con* concerning bimetallism and the free coinage of silver. In the meantime another measure for the relief of the Treasury was reported and passed by the House by a vote of 171 to 136, 48 not voting. The title of the bill was as follows :

A bill (H. R. 2904) to maintain and protect the coin redemption fund, and to authorize the issue of certificates of indebtedness to meet temporary deficiencies of revenue.

In the Senate the bill was referred to the Committee on Finance and reported back January 7th, with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert the same free-coinage provisions as had been substituted for the

previous measure of the House providing for increased revenue. The debate upon the substitute was, of course, similar to that of the previous bill. A vote was finally reached upon the bill authorizing the issue of bonds. The substitute reported by the Committee on Finance was passed by a vote of 43 to 34, 12 not voting. The House refused to concur by a vote of 90 to 215, 50 not voting. It was seen that no Tariff or financial action could be agreed upon in this session, while at the same time the large Republican majority in the House put itself solidly on record in the measures which it framed and passed.

Early in the session the Cuban question was made conspicuous by the introduction of several joint resolutions according belligerent rights to the Cuban insurgents, authorizing the President to inquire into the state of war in Cuba, and providing for intervention and to recognize the Republic of Cuba. Considerable debate ensued upon the subject, which tended to bring out clearly the real conditions on the island and the almost intolerable attitude of Spain. Although resolutions were passed by each House, yet there was no agreement during the session.

The River and Harbor bill, which was passed by both Houses and sent to the President, was vetoed by Mr. Cleveland on May 29th. It was, however, passed over the veto without debate in the House by the following vote—yeas 219, nays 61, not voting, 74. In the Senate it was debated and passed by a vote of 56 yeas, 5 nays, 28 not voting. This session adjourned on June 11th.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1896—THE SILVER QUESTION—TRIUMPH OF MCKINLEY AND SOUND MONEY.

THE Eleventh Republican National Convention met at St. Louis June 16, 1896. After prayer and the reading of the call for the convention by Joseph H. Manley, secretary of the Republican National Committee, Thomas H. Carter of Montana said:

I now have the distinguished honor to present to you, as your temporary presiding officer, the Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana.

Mr. Fairbanks was thereupon escorted to the chair and addressed the convention. Among other things he said:

Three years of Democratic administration have been three years of panic, of wasted energy, of anxiety and loss to the American people, without a parallel in our history. To-day the people turn to the Republican party hopefully, confidently; and it is for us to meet their expectations; it is for us to give them those candidates upon whom their hearts have centered, and to give them clear, straightforward, emphatic expression of our political faith. The Republican party is a party of convictions; and it has written its convictions in the history of the Republic with the pen and the sword; with it the supreme question always has been not what is merely politic, but what is everlasting right. The great men we have given to the nation and to history, the mighty dead and the illustrious living, are our inspiration and our tower of strength. If we are but true to their exalted example, we cannot be false to our countrymen.

For a third of a century prior to the advent of the present Democratic administration, we operated under laws enacted by the Republican party. All great measures concerning the Tariff and the currency originated with it. Tariff laws were formed upon lines which protected our laborers and producers from unequal and unjust foreign competition; and upon the theory that the best market in the world is the home market and that it should be enjoyed by our own countrymen.

Under the currency laws our currency was made national. The wildcat State bank money of the Democratic party was wiped out of existence. The unprecedented demands growing out of the war were met by a paper currency which ultimately became as good as gold. Since the resumption of specie payments in 1879 every dollar of our money, paper, silver and gold has been of equal purchasing power the world over. The policy of the party has been to make and keep our currency equal to the best in the world.

Under the operation of these honest Tariff and honest money Republican laws, the country grew in wealth and power beyond precedent. We easily outstripped all other powers in the commercial race. On November 8, 1892, there was work for every hand and bread for every mouth. We reached high-water mark. Labor received higher wages than ever and capital was profitably and securely employed. The national revenues were sufficient to meet our obligations and leave a surplus in the Treasury. Foreign and domestic trade were greater in volume and value than they had ever been. Foreign balances were largely in our favor. European gold was flowing toward us. But all of this is changed. The cause is not hard to seek. A reaction began when it was known that the legislative and executive branches of the Government were to be Democratic. . . .

Neither time nor place will permit further reference to the unfortunate revenue legislation of the Democratic party, nor to the hurtful, demoralizing effects of it. Suffice it to say, that it has been the great and original factor in breaking down confidence, checking progress, emptying the treasury, causing continued deficits and enforced idleness among millions of willing workers.

To meet the monthly deficits and protect our credit and save the Government from protest the President has been forced to sell bonds; in other words he has been obliged to mortgage the future in a time of peace to meet the current obligations of the Government.

This is in sharp contrast with the Republican record. Our Tariff laws not only raised revenue, but they protected our domestic industries. They impartially protected the farmer and manufacturer, both North and South. Not only that, but they also raised sufficient revenue to gradually reduce the public debt, and without imposing a grievous burden upon the people. During the administration of Harrison \$236,000,000 of obligations were paid, while Cleveland during the last three years has added to our interest-bearing debt \$262,000,000. Against such Democratic financiering the Republican party enters its emphatic protest.

Having attempted to reverse the Tariff policy of the United States with such lamentable results the Democratic party proposes to reverse the currency policy. . . .

A sound currency defrauds no one. It is good alike in the hands of the employe and the employer; the labor and the capitalist. Upon faith in its worth, its stability, we go forward planning for the future. The capitalist erects his factories, acquires his materials, employs his artisans, mechanics and laborers. He is confident that his margin will not be swept away by fluctuations in the currency. The laborer knows that the money earned by his toil is as honest as his labor, and that it is of unquestioned purchasing power. He likewise knows that it requires as much labor to earn a poor dollar as a good one; and he also knows that if poorer money is abroad it will surely find its way into his pocket.

We protest against lowering our standard of commercial honor. We stand against the Democratic attempt to degrade our currency to the low level of Mexico, China, India and Japan. The present high standard of our currency, our honor and our flag will be sacredly protected and preserved by the Republican party.

There are many and important questions requiring the enlightened and patriotic judgment of the Republican party. A pan-American commercial alliance was conceived by James G. Blaine, and the highest motives of self-interest require us to accomplish what he had so well begun.

The Monroe doctrine must be firmly upheld; and the powers of the earth made to respect this great, but unwritten law. There can be no further territorial aggrandizement by foreign governments on the Western Continent.

Our devotion to the pensioners of the nation was never more emphatic nor more necessary than now.

The Republican party believes in the development of our Navy and Merchant Marine until we establish our undisputed supremacy on the high seas.

The struggle for Cuban liberty enlists the ardent sympathy of the Republican party—a party which has given to liberty its fullest meaning on this continent. We wish to see a new Republic born on Cuban soil greet the new century whose dawn is already purpling the East.

My friends, the campaign of 1896 is upon us. The great questions for debate in the august forum of the United States are Free Trade and Free Silver against a Protective Tariff and Sound Money. As we regard our homes and our honor, our happiness and our prosperity and the future power and majesty of the Republic let us dedicate ourselves to the restoration of a Protective Tariff which shall be genuinely American, and the maintenance of an honest standard of value with which to measure the exchanges of the people.

A distinguished Republican has said that the supreme desire of the American people is for honest money and a chance to earn it by honest toil.

Mr. Fairbanks was accorded a magnificent ovation at the conclusion of his speech. The rest of the day was consumed in the announcement of the various committees and permanent organization of the convention.

On the second day the Committee on Permanent Organization, of which Charles Grosvenor of Ohio was chairman, announced its unanimous selection of John M. Thurston of Nebraska as permanent president of the convention. Vice-presidents were announced from several States, and Colonel Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota was selected for secretary. Senator William J. Sewell of New Jersey, and Representative Sereno E. Payne of New York, escorted Mr. Thurston to the chair, where he addressed the convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention : The happy memory of your kindness and confidence will abide in my grateful heart forever. My sole ambition is to meet your expectations; and I pledge myself to exercise the important powers of this high office with absolute justice and impartiality. I bespeak your cordial co-operation and support to the end that our proceedings may be orderly and dignified,

as befits the deliberations of the supreme council of the Republican party.

Eight years ago I had the distinguished honor to preside over the convention which nominated the last Republican President of the United States. To-day I have the further distinguished honor to preside over the convention which is to nominate the next President of the United States. This generation has had its object lesson, and the doom of the Democratic party is already pronounced. The American people will return the Republican party to power because they know that its administration will mean:

The supremacy of the Constitution of the United States.

The maintenance of law and order.

The protection of every American citizen in his right to live, to labor and to vote.

A vigorous foreign policy.

The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

The restoration of our Merchant Marine.

Safety under the Stars and Stripes on every sea, in every port.

A revenue adequate for all governmental expenditures, and the gradual extinguishment of the national debt.

A currency as sound as the government and as untarnished as its honor, whose dollar, whether gold, or silver, or paper, shall have equal purchasing and debt-paying power with the best dollars of the civilized world.

A protective Tariff which protects, coupled with reciprocity which reciprocates, thereby securing the best market for American products and opening American factories to the free coinage of American muscle.

A pension policy just and generous to our living heroes, and to the widows and orphans of their dead comrades.

The governmental supervision and control of transportation lines and rates.

The protection of the public from all unlawful combinations and unjust exaction of aggregated capital and corporated power.

An American welcome to every God-fearing, liberty-loving, Constitution-respecting, law-abiding, labor-seeking, decent man.

The exclusion of all whose birth, whose blood, whose condition, whose teaching, whose practices would menace the permanency of free institutions, endanger the safety of American society or lessen the opportunities of American labor.

The abolition of sectionalism—every star in the American flag shining for the honor and welfare and happiness of every commonwealth and of all the people.

A deathless loyalty to all that is truly American, and a patriotism as eternal as the stars.

The day was taken up mostly with the contested election cases and the report of the Committee on Rules.

Early on the third day the platform was reported by the Committee on Resolutions through its chairman, Senator-elect Foraker of Ohio, as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1896.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled

success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, the patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established—Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain

open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar-producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields, as well as those of the shop and factory; to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woollens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfilment of the pledges made to them in the

dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the

government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defences.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching, or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

We favor the creation of a national Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure such as has already passed the House, and is now pending in the Senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Several times during the reading of the platform Mr. Foraker was interrupted by demonstrations of approval, particularly after the reading of the following paragraph:

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth.

It was then moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Resolutions as read be adopted as the Republican National platform for 1896. Before the question was put, Senator Teller of Colorado appeared upon the platform and presented a minority report, which the secretary read, as follows:

We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, being unable to agree with a portion of the majority report which treats of the subject of coinage and finances, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

The Republican party authorizes the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold.

Mr. Teller then addressed the convention at considerable length in defence of the minority report. He said among other things:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I will not attempt to inflict upon you a discussion of the great financial question which is dividing the people not only of this country, but of the whole world. The few moments allotted to me by the convention will not enable me to more than state in the briefest possible manner our objections to the financial plank proposed for your consideration. I am a practical man, and I recognize the conditions existing in this convention, foreshadowed as they were by the action of the committee, selected by the representatives assembled from the different States.

This plank, or this proposition, was submitted to the whole committee and by it rejected. Loyalty to my own opinion, consideration of the great interest that is felt in this country, compels me in face of unusual difficulties, to present this for your consideration, not with that bounding hope, or with that courage that I have presented it in other bodies with greater measure of success than I can hope for here. The great and supreme importance of this question is alone my excuse now for the few words that I shall say to you.

In connection with this subject, in a public capacity, I have dealt with it now for twenty years. I represent a State that produces silver, but I want to say to you here and now that my advocacy of the proposition is not in the slightest degree influenced or controlled by that fact.

I contend for it because I believe there can be no sound financial system in any country in the world that does not recognize this principle. I contend for it because since 1873, when it was ruthlessly stricken from our statutes, there has been a continued depreciation of all the products of human labor and of human energy. I contend for it because in this year of 1896 the American people are in greater distress than they ever were in their history. I contend for it because this is in my judgment the great weight, the great incubus that has weighed down enterprise and destroyed progress in this favored land of ours. I contend for it because I believe the progress of my country is dependent on it. I contend for it because I believe the civilization of the world is to be determined by the rightful or wrongful solution of this financial question. I am tolerant,

of those who differ with me. I act from my judgment, enlightened as best I have been able to enlighten it with many years of study and many years of thought. In my judgment, the American people in the whole line of their history have never been called upon to settle a question of greater importance to them than this. The great contest in which many of you participated, of whether we should have two flags or one was not more important to the American people than the question of a proper solution of what shall be the money system of this land.

I have said enough to show you that I think that this is not a question of policy, but a question of principle. It is not a mere idle thing, but one on which hangs the happiness, the prosperity, the morality and the independence of American labor and American producers. Confronted for the first time in the history of this glorious party of ours, confronted, I say, for the first time with danger of a financial system that in my judgment will be destructive of all the great interests of this land, we are called upon to give to this provision of our platform our adhesion or rejection. . . .

Mr. President, there are few men in a political party that have been honored more than I have by the people of the State in which they live. There are few men in this convention or anywhere else that have been longer connected with this organization than I. There are few men in it who have been more active and known in it—no, not one has been more attached to the great principle of this party than I have been, and I cannot go out of it without heartburnings and a feeling that no man can appreciate who has not endured it, and yet I cannot before my country and my God, agree to the provision that shall put upon this country a gold standard, and I will not. And I do not care what may be the result. If it takes me out of political life I will go out with a feeling that at least I maintain my consistency and my manhood, and that my conscience is clear, and that my country will have no right to find fault with me.

I beg your pardon for saying things so personal, but yet if a personal act that to some implies perfidy and dishonor, is about to be taken, I think it but just to myself and my associates that I should proclaim to you that we take this step not in anger, not in pique, not because we dislike the nominee, prospectively or otherwise, but because our conscience requires, as honest men that we should make this sacrifice, for sacrifice we feel that it is.

Thanking you, gentlemen, for your kind attention, retiring from you as I do perhaps never again to have an opportunity of addressing a Republican Convention, I cannot do it without saying that after all I have in my heart a hope—nay, I have an expectation, that better counsels will prevail, and that if you should be foolish enough to adopt this platform and force us to leave the Republican party, better counsel will prevail and ultimately, on a true Republican platform, sustaining Republican principles, I may have the inestimable pleasure of again addressing you.

A motion was then made and seconded that the substitute be laid on the table. The vote resulted as follows: Yeas, 818½, nays, 105½. A vote was then taken upon the financial plank of the platform as reported, the result being 812½ against 110½ for adoption. The question was then put upon the adoption of the balance of the platform, which was then carried by an “aye” and “no” vote. Upon the announcement of the adoption of the platform, Senator Teller appeared with a personal statement, which was read by Senator Cannon, a delegate from Utah, as a matter of personal privilege.

The reading was interrupted by calls of “Time, Time,” but the Chair asked for a respectful hearing, and the statement was finished.

At its conclusion Senator Cannon announced that the statement was signed by the following committee in behalf of the withdrawing delegates: Henry M. Teller, Colorado; F. T. DuBois, Idaho; Frank J. Cannon, Utah; Charles A. Hartman, Montana; R. F. Pettigrew, South Dakota; A. C. Cleveland, Nevada. Senator Cannon then shook hands with Senator Thurston and Senator-elect Foraker, and withdrew from the platform. The silver delegates then withdrew from the convention amid considerable excitement and a most unique demonstration, the band playing amid the cheering and songs of the remaining delegates. The uproar continued for several minutes, when the chairman said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: There seem to be enough delegates left to transact the business of the convention.

The Chair then asked the convention to hear the delegate from Montana, who, with others, did not go out, and Senator Mantle addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : There is, evidently, from the remarks of the Chairman, a misapprehension as to my position, and that which those who remained with me, occupy with reference to this convention. I desire to say that a majority of the delegation from the State of Montana have not felt that, under all the circumstances surrounding this occasion, they were justified in actually walking out from this convention. But, Mr. Chairman, I am compelled to say in deference to the wishes and the opinions of a vast majority of the Republicans of the State of Montana, that we cannot give our approval, or our endorsement to the financial plank this day adopted. Now, Mr. Chairman, the gentlemen who are here in this convention are here to represent the sentiments of the people who sent them here. We of Montana are here precisely in the same position. Under the pledges made by the Republican party in its last National Republican platform, we of the West went out and said to our people: "The Republican party is the friend of silver; it has declared that it is "in favor of the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of this nation." Upon that statement, although we encountered a Populist wave which swept over our Western States, we were enabled to keep the State of Montana within the Republican party, and to cast its electoral vote for Benjamin Harrison. But, Mr. Chairman, had it been stated that the Republican party was in favor of the single gold standard, that achievement would have been impossible.

The victors can well afford to be generous. I am simply expressing the sentiments of the people who sent me here, and they have never been anywhere but in the Republican party. I have never in my life cast anything but a Republican vote, and I do not want to do it now if I can help it. But we have come here under explicit direction, under explicit instructions from the Republicans of our State. We would be false to them and false to ourselves if we did not state their position, and their objections at this time. Mr. Chairman, in the name and in behalf of the Republicans of Montana, I protest earnestly, solemnly and emphatically against the financial plank of the platform adopted this day. And I say this, that we cannot accept it; we cannot endorse it; we cannot support it. But here there is

a difference of opinion in this delegation. There are those who are satisfied to utter this protest and still participate in the proceedings of this convention. There are others who feel that in declining to support the party declaration upon this great controlling issue, they are in honor bound not to participate in the placing of a candidate upon a platform, a portion of which they cannot at this time endorse. But, Mr. Chairman, whatever the action of the delegation may be among its individual members, I want to say this, that we reserve the right to the Republicans of the State of Montana, to accept or reject at such time and in such manner as they may determine the platform and the candidates this day placed before them by this convention.

Senator Mantle was then followed by Senator Brown of Utah, and by A. F. Burleigh of the State of Washington. At the conclusion of the latter's remarks the new national committee was announced, of which Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio was made chairman. The presiding officer then announced that the next order of business was the presentation of candidates for nomination for the next President of the United States. Senator William B. Allison of Iowa was nominated by John N. Baldwin of that State, after which Thomas B. Reed of Maine was nominated by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Mr. Littlefield of Maine seconded the nomination of Mr. Reed, after which Chauncey M. Depew of New York nominated Levi P. Morton. When Ohio was called Governor Foraker addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: It would be extremely difficult if not entirely impossible to exaggerate the disagreeable experiences of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a Democratic National Administration may be summed up as one stupendous disaster; it has been a disaster, however, not without at least one redeeming feature. It has been fair—nobody has escaped. It has fallen equally and alike upon all sections of the country and all classes of our population. The just and the unjust, the Republican and the Democrat, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, have suffered in common. Idleness and its consequent poverty and distress have been the rewards of labor; distress and bankruptcy have overtaken business, shrunken values have dissipated fortunes, deficient revenues have impover-

ished the government, while bond issues and bond syndicates have discredited and scandalized the nation. Over against this fearful penalty we can set down one great blessed compensatory result. It has destroyed the Democratic party. The proud columns that swept the country in triumph in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles when put to the test of a practical application have proven delusive fallacies and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of hostile and irreconcilable factions.

Their approaching national convention, is but an approaching national nightmare. No man pretends to be able to predict any good result to come from it, and no man is seeking its nomination, except only the limited few who have advertised their unfitness for any kind of a public trust by proclaiming their willingness to stand on any sort of platform that may be adopted. The truth is, the party that could stand up under the odium of human Slavery, opposition to the war for the preservation of the Union, emancipation, enfranchisement, reconstruction, and specie resumption at last finds itself overmet and undone by itself. It is rising in the throes of final dissolution, superinduced by a dose of its own doctrines. No human agency can prevent its absolute overthrow at the next election, except only this convention. If we make no mistake here, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897, to remain out of power until God, in his wisdom, and mercy and goodness, shall see fit once more to chastise his people. So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scene witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people. It remains for us now as a last crowning act of our work here to again meet that same expectation in the nomination of our candidate. What is that expectation? What do the people want? You all do know.

They want something more than a good business man; they want something more than a good Republican; they want something more than a fearless leader; they want something more than a wise, patriotic statesman; they want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but who, in addition in the highest possible degree, typifies in name, character, record, ambition and purpose the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by the present Free Trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-saving, Democratic administration. I stand here to present to this convention such a man. His name is William McKinley.

[At this point the convention became uncontrollable by the chairman, the ovation which greeted the name of McKinley lasting twenty-five minutes, according to the official report of the proceedings.]

You seem to have heard the name of my candidate before. And so you have. He is known to all the world. His testimonials are : a private life without reproach; four years of heroic service as a boy soldier for the Union on the battlefields of the Republic, under such generals as gallant Phil Sheridan; twelve years of conspicuous service in the halls of Congress, associated with such great leaders and champions of Republicanism as James G. Blaine; four years of executive experience as Governor of Ohio; but, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, leader of the House of Representatives and author of the McKinley law—the law under which labor had the richest rewards and the country generally the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed in our history. No other name so completely meets the requirements of the American people; no other man so absolutely commands their hearts and their affections. The shafts of envy and jealousy, slander and libel, calumny and detraction, lie broken at his feet. They have all been shot and shot in vain,—the quiver is empty and he is untouched. The American people know him, trust him, believe in him, love him and they will not allow him to be unjustly disparaged in their estimation. They know he is patriotic; they know he is an American of Americans; they know he is wise and experienced; that he is able and just, and they want him for President of the United States. They have already so declared—not in this or that State or section, but in all the States and all the sections, from Ocean to Ocean, and from the Gulf to the Lakes. They expect us to give them a chance to vote for him. If we do we shall give joy to their hearts, enthusiasm to the campaign and triumphant victory to our cause; and he, in turn, will give us an administration under which the country will enter upon a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad. By all these tokens of the present, and all these promises for the future, in the name of the forty-six delegates from Ohio, I submit his claims to your consideration.

John M. Thurston, who had retired, temporarily, from the chair, seconded the nomination of Mr. McKinley. He concluded his speech as follows:

In an inland manufacturing city on election night, November the 8th, 1894, after the wires had confirmed the news of a great Republican victory, the workingmen started to climb to the top of the great smokeless chimney. That chimney had been built by the invitation and upon the promise of a Republican protective legislation. In the factory over which it towered was employment for twice a thousand men. Its mighty roar had heralded prosperity of a whole community now bleak, blackened, voiceless and dismantled. Like a grim spectre of evil it frowned down upon the helpless city, while idleness, poverty, stagnation and want attested the utter failure of the Free Trade experiment. Up and up and up they climbed, watched by the multitude below; up and up and up, until at last they stood upon the summit, and there in the glare of the electric lights, cheered by the gathered thousands, they unfurled and nailed the American flag. Down in the streets strong men wept and mothers lifted up their babes, invoking a blessing on the flag, and then impatient lips burst forth in a song of hallelujah, of exulting hosts, the mighty pæan of a people's joy. They say, and enthusiastic millions sing it yet :

Hurrah, hurrah, we bring the jubilee,
Hurrah, hurrah, the flag that makes us free;
And so we sing the chorus from Atlanta to the sea,
Hurrah for McKinley and Protection.

My countrymen, on behalf of those stalwart workmen and on behalf of the vast army of American toilers, that their employment may be certain, their wages just, their dollars the best of the civilized world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney and deserted factory at its foot, that the furnaces may once more flame, the mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum—on behalf of the cottages around about and all the humble homes of this broad land, that comfort and contentment may again abide by the fireside's glow, the women sing, the children laugh—yes, and on behalf of that American flag and all it stands for and represents, for the honor of every stripe, for the glory of every star—that its power may fill the earth, and its splendors span the sky, I nominate that loyal American, Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman, William McKinley of Ohio.

Governor Hastings of Pennsylvania then nominated Senator Quay of that State, after which Senator Vance of Louisiana

seconded the nomination of McKinley. The roll of States was then called with the following result:

Whole number of votes.....	906
Necessary for a choice.....	453½
William McKinley, Ohio.....	661½
Thomas B. Reed, Maine.....	84½
Matthew S. Quay, Pennsylvania.....	61½
Levi P. Morton, New York.....	58
William B. Allison, Iowa.....	35½
J. Donald Cameron, Pennsylvania.....	1
Blank.....	4

Senator Lodge, Governor Hastings, Senator Platt, Senator Depew, and others moved that the nomination of Mr. McKinley be made unanimous. So general a call was made for Mr. Hanna, that he finally yielded and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am glad that there was one member of this convention who has the intelligence at this late hour to ascertain how this nomination was made. By the people. What feeble effort I may have contributed to the result, I am here to lay the fruits of it at the feet of my party and upon the altar of my country.

I am ready now to take my position in the ranks alongside of my friend, General Henderson, and all other good Republicans from every State, and do the duty of a soldier until next November.

As the chairman put the question of making the nomination of Mr. McKinley unanimous, the delegates rose to their feet as one man. Nominations for Vice-President then being in order, Morgan G. Bulkeley of Connecticut was nominated by Samuel Fessenden of that State. J. Franklin Fort of New Jersey then presented the name of Garrett A. Hobart of that State. Among other things Mr. Fort said:

I come, then, to you to-day in behalf of new New Jersey, a politically redeemed and regenerated State. Old things have passed away, and behold all things have become new. It is many long years since New Jersey has received recognition by a National Convention.

When Henry Clay stood for protection in 1844, New Jersey furnished Theodore Frelinghuysen as his associate. The issue then was the restoration of the Tariff and was more nearly like that of to-day than that of any other period which I can recall in the nation's political history. In 1856, when the freedom of man brought the Republican party into existence, and the great "Pathfinder" was called to lead, New Jersey furnished for that unequal contest William L. Dayton as the vice-presidential candidate. Since then, counting for nothing, we have asked for nothing. During this period Maine has had a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Massachusetts a Vice-President; New York four Vice-Presidents, one of whom became President for almost a full term; Indiana a President, a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Illinois a President four times and a vice-presidential candidate; Ohio two Presidents and now a candidate for the third time; Tennessee a Vice-President who became President for almost a full term.

We make it no test of our Republicanism that we have a candidate. We have been too long used to fighting for principle for that. But we do say that you can, by granting our request, lighten our burden and make us a confident party with victory in sight even before the contest begins. Will we carry Colorado, Montana, and Nevada this year if the Democracy declares for silver at 16 to 1? Let us hope we may. New Jersey has as many electoral votes as those three States together.

Will you not make New Jersey sure to take their place in case of need? We have in all these long years of Republicanism been the "Lone Star" Democratic State in the North. Our forty years of wandering in the wilderness of Democracy are ended. Our Egyptian darkness disappears. We are on the hilltop looking into the promised land. Encourage us as we march over into the political Canaan of Republicanism, there to remain, by giving us a leader on the national ticket to go up with us. We are proud of our public men. Their Republicanism and love of country has been welded in the furnace of political adversity. That man is a Republican who adheres to the party in a State where there is no hope for the gratification of personal ambitions. There are no camp followers in the minority party in any State. They are all true soldiers in the militant army, doing valiant service without reward, gain, or the hope thereof, from principle only.

A true representative of this class of Republicans New Jersey

will offer you to-day. He is in the prime of life, a never-faltering friend, with qualities of leadership unsurpassed, of sterling honor, of broad mind, of liberal views, of wide public information; of great business capacity, and, withal, a parliamentarian who would grace the presidency of the Senate of the United States. A native of our State, the son of an humble farmer, he was reared to love of country in sight of the historic field of Monmouth, on which the blood of our ancestors was shed that the republic might exist. From a poor country boy, unaided and alone, he has risen to high renown among us. In our State we have done for him all that the political conditions would permit. He has been Speaker of our Assembly and President of the Senate. He has been the choice for United States Senator of the Republican minority in the Legislature, and had it been in our power to have placed him in the Senate of the United States he would long ere this have been there. His capabilities are such as would grace any position of honor in the nation. Not for himself, but for our State; not for his ambition, but to give to the nation the highest type of public official, do we come to this convention by the command of our State, and in the name of the Republican party of New Jersey—unconquered and unconquerable, undivided and indivisible—with our united voices speaking for all that counts for good citizenship in our State, we present to you for the office of Vice-President of the Republic, Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey.

Mr. Hobart's nomination was seconded by J. Otis Humphrey of Illinois, after which Samuel W. K. Allen of Rhode Island nominated Charles Warren Lippett of that State. H. Clay Evans of Tennessee was nominated by W. N. Randolph of the same State, and the nomination of Mr. Evans was seconded by John P. Smith of Kentucky and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin. James A. Walker, the only Republican member of Congress from Virginia, was nominated by D. F. Bailey of the same State, who was immediately followed by A. B. White of West Virginia, who seconded the nomination of Mr. Hobart. The vote was as follows: Hobart, 533½; Evans, 280½; Bulkeley, 39; Walker, 24; Lippett, 8; Grant, 2; Depew, 3; Morton, 1; Thurston, 2. The nomination of Mr. Hobart was then made unanimous, all the delegates rising to their feet in affirmation of the motion. The committees to

notify the candidates were then appointed, after which the convention adjourned without day.

The Democratic National Convention assembled on July 7th at Chicago. Chairman Harrity of the Democratic National Committee opened the proceedings, and after prayer was offered the chairman proposed as the selection of the national committee for temporary chairman of the convention, Senator David B. Hill of New York. A minority report was, however, presented, naming Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia. On a vote of States Mr. Daniel was chosen, giving to the Silver element their first victory in the convention. On the second day the Committee on Credentials proposed three changes in the delegates, whereby the representation of each Territory was increased from two members to six; the Gold Standard delegation from Nebraska was unseated and a Silver delegation, headed by William J. Bryan, was admitted; and four Silver delegates were substituted for four Gold delegates from Michigan. Senator Stephen M. White of California was then made permanent president of the convention. The platform, which was read by Senator J. K. Jones of Arkansas, contained the following plank:

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

Following the reading of the platform speeches were made by Senators Tillman of South Carolina, Hill of New York, Vilas of Wisconsin, also ex-Governor Russell of Massachusetts, and William J. Bryan of Nebraska. The conclusion of Mr. Bryan's address contained the following sentences:

We shall answer their demand for the gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The debate upon the Silver question was earnest in the extreme, and Mr. Bryan at once leaped into prominence as the leader of the Silver forces and as a strong candidate before the convention for the presidential nomination. A minority report from the Committee on Resolutions was presented, which was as follows:

To the Democratic National Convention: Sixteen delegates, constituting the minority of the Committee on Resolutions, find many declarations in the report of the majority to which they can not give their assent. Some of these are wholly unnecessary; some are ill-considered and ambiguously phrased; while others are extreme, and revolutionary of the well-recognized principles of the party. The minority content themselves with this general expression of their dissent, without going into a specific statement of these objectionable features of the report of the majority.

But upon the financial question, which engages at this time the chief share of public attention, the views of the majority differ so fundamentally from what the minority regard as vital Democratic doctrine as to demand a distinct statement of what they hold to as the only just and true expression of Democratic faith upon this important issue, as follows, which is offered as a substitute for the financial report of the majority:

We declare our belief that the experiment on the part of the United States alone of free-silver coinage and a change in the existing standard of value independently of the action of other great nations would not only imperil our finances, but would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallism, to which the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed. It would place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair contracts, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of the wages of labor, and inflict irreparable evils upon our nation's commerce and industry.

Until international co-operation among leading nations for the coinage of silver can be secured, we favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard as essential to the preservation of our national credit, the redemption of our public pledges, and the keeping inviolate of our country's honor. We insist that all our paper currency shall be kept at a parity with gold. The Democratic party is the party of hard money, and is opposed to legal-tender paper money as a part of our permanent financial system, and we therefore favor the gradual retirement and cancellation of all United States notes and Treasury notes, under such legislative provisions as will prevent undue contraction. We demand that the national credit shall be resolutely maintained at all times and under all circumstances.

The minority also feel that the report of the majority is defective

in failing to make any recognition of the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the present Democratic Administration, and they therefore offer the following declaration as an amendment to the majority report:

We commend the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the present Democratic National Administration.

This report was signed by David B. Hill, New York; William F. Vilas, Wisconsin; George Gray, Delaware; J. P. Poe, Maryland; I. W. Drew, New Hampshire; P. J. Farrell, Vermont; Lynde Harrison, Connecticut; D. S. Baker, Rhode Island; C. O. Holman, Maine; T. A. C. Weadock, Michigan; J. E. O'Brien, Minnesota; J. E. Russell, Massachusetts; R. E. Wright, Pennsylvania; W. R. Steele, South Dakota; A. L. McDermott, N. Jersey; and C. D. Rogers, Alaska.

Upon the question of accepting the minority financial report the vote was: Yeas, 301, nays, 628. On the minority resolution endorsing the administration the vote, which was demanded by Senator Hill, resulted as follows: Yeas, 357, nays, 564, not voting, 9. In addition to the amendments proposed by the minority members of the Committee on Resolutions, Senator Hill offered two other amendments, the first being as follows:

But it should be carefully provided by law at the same time that any change in the monetary standard should not apply to existing contracts.

The other amendment was to add at the end of the financial plank the following pledge:

Our advocacy of the independent free coinage of silver being based on the belief that such coinage will effect and maintain a parity between gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, we declare as a pledge of our sincerity that, if such free coinage shall fail to effect such parity within one year from its enactment by law, such coinage shall thereupon be suspended.

Both amendments were rejected without a division, and the platform was adopted without amendment by a vote of 628 to 301.

The Silver wing was seen to have a two-thirds majority of the convention. Although the minority did not withdraw, yet they announced their determination not to accept the platform adopted and to take no part in the nomination of candidates. On the first ballot for a candidate for President 178 delegates refrained from voting, and on the four succeeding ballots 162 delegates refused to vote. Among the candidates voted for were William J. Bryan of Nebraska, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, Robert E. Pattison of Pennsylvania, Horace Boies of Iowa, J. S. C. Blackburn of Kentucky, Joseph R. McLean of Ohio, Claude Matthews of Indiana, and Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina.

On the fifth ballot Mr. Bryan came within twelve votes of the necessary two-thirds. On the completion of the roll-call, but before the result was announced, 78 votes were transferred to Mr. Bryan, and he became the nominee. On the fifth ballot for a candidate for Vice-President, Arthur Sewall of Maine was nominated. Delegates to the number of 250 refused to vote on the various ballots for the candidate for Vice-President. The States not voting for the nominees either wholly or in part were Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin, and New York. New York alone maintained a solid delegation against both platform and candidates.

The regular Prohibition convention met at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on May 28th. Joshua Levering of Maryland was nominated for President, and Hale Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President. The platform confined itself to the Prohibition issue, while the signers of a minority report, headed by ex-Governor St. John, called for planks in the platform in favor of an income tax, government control of railroads and telegraphs, and free coinage of silver. The majority report, or, as it was called, the "narrow-gaugers' " report, was adopted by a vote of 492 to 310. The "broad gaugers" then retired from the hall and met on the evening of May 28th and organized themselves into a National party, with "Home Rule" as a motto. Their platform contained planks in favor of woman suffrage, free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1,

government control of railroads and telegraphs, income tax, and the initiative and referendum. Charles E. Bentley of Nebraska was nominated for President and James H. Southgate of North Carolina for Vice-President.

The convention of the Socialist Labor party was held at New York City on July 9th. Charles H. Matchett of New York was nominated for President and Matthew Maguire of New Jersey for Vice-President.

The Populist convention was held at St. Louis on July 22d. Senator Marion C. Butler of North Carolina was made temporary chairman, and Senator William V. Allen of Nebraska permanent president of the convention. Early in the session a test vote showed a victory for the so-called "middle-of-the-road" wing as opposed to those who were favorable to an alliance with the Democrats. The vote was upon a motion to reverse the usual order of proceedings and nominate the candidate for Vice-President before the candidate for President. It was carried by a vote of 785 to 615. The platform demanded "the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the consent of foreign nations." The first ballot for Vice-President gave Thomas E. Watson of Georgia 539 $\frac{3}{4}$ votes, and Arthur Sewall of Maine 257 $\frac{1}{8}$ votes, the rest being scattering. Mr. Watson was, after numerous changes had taken place, declared to be nominated. Although Mr. Bryan had telegraphed to Senator Jones to withdraw his name as a candidate for the nomination for President if Sewall was not endorsed for Vice-President, yet the candidate of the Democratic party was endorsed, as is shown by the result of the first ballot, Mr. Bryan having 1042 to 321 cast for S. F. Norton of Illinois, 8 for Eugene V. Debs, 3 for Ignatius Donnelly, and 1 for J. S. Coxey.

The convention of the National Silver party was held at St. Louis on July 22d. Representative F. G. Newlands of Nevada was made temporary chairman and William P. St. John of New York permanent president of the convention. The nominees of the Democratic party were endorsed.

As soon as the regular Democratic convention adjourned,

steps were at once taken to organize those who were opposed to the platform and candidates of the convention. Several conferences resulted in a convention at Indianapolis on September 2d. Forty-one States and three Territories were represented. Roswell P. Flower of New York was made temporary chairman, and Senator Donelson Caffery of Louisiana permanent president. The platform adopted contained the following:

The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation, to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of Tariff reform, to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

John M. Palmer of Illinois, on the first ballot for a candidate for President, received 679½ votes to 118½ cast for General Edward S. Bragg of Wisconsin. General Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky was nominated by acclamation for Vice-President.

Never before in the history of the country had political parties been so divided in a national campaign. The Republican party lost the so-called Silver wing; the Democratic party was hopelessly divided, while the Populists and Prohibitionists went into the campaign each with two sets of candidates. Mr. Bryan made a most strenuous canvass, speaking in many States and often several times a day. Large crowds everywhere gathered to hear him, but, as it afterwards transpired, in those localities where he spoke was cast the largest vote against him. Mr. McKinley remained at his home in Canton, Ohio, and was visited daily throughout the campaign by admirers and supporters from every part of the Union.

Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance was an exhaustive exposition of not only the issues of the campaign, but the conditions of the country preceding and during the administration of Cleveland and the Democratic party. Following are a few extracts:

For the first time since 1868, if ever before, there is presented to the American people this year a clear and direct issue as to our monetary system, of vast importance in its effects, and upon the right settlement of which rests largely the financial honor and prosperity of the country.

It is proposed by one wing of the Democratic party and its allies, the People's and Silver parties, to inaugurate the free and unlimited coinage of silver by independent action on the part of the United States at a ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. The mere declaration of this purpose is a menace to our financial and industrial interests and has already created universal alarm. It involves great peril to the credit and business of the country, a peril so grave that conservative men everywhere are breaking away from their old party association and uniting with other patriotic citizens in emphatic protest against the platform of the Democratic national convention as an assault upon the faith and honor of the government and the welfare of the people.

We have had few questions in the lifetime of the republic more serious than the one which is thus presented. . . .

The meaning of the coinage plank adopted at Chicago is that any one may take a quantity of silver bullion, now worth 53 cents, to the mints of the United States, have it coined at the expense of the government and receive for it a silver dollar which shall be legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private.

The owner of the silver bullion would get the silver dollar. It would belong to him and to nobody else. Other people would get it only by their labor, the products of their land or something of value. The bullion owner, on the basis of present values, would receive the silver dollar for 53 cents' worth of silver, and other people would be required to receive it as a full dollar in the payment of debts.

The government would get nothing from the transaction. It would bear the expense of coining the silver and the community would suffer loss by its use.

We have coined since 1878 more than 400,000,000 silver dollars, which are maintained by the government at a parity with gold, and are a full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. How are the silver dollars now in use different from those which would be in use under free coinage? They are to be of the same weight and fineness; they are to bear the same stamp of the government. Why would they not be of the same value?

I answer: The silver dollars now in use were coined on account of the government and not for private account or gain, and the government has solemnly agreed to keep them as good as the best dollars we have. The government bought the silver bullion at its market value and coined it into silver. Having exclusive control of the mintage, it only coins what it can hold at a parity with gold. . . .

These dollars in the particulars I have named are not the same as the dollars which would be issued under free coinage. They would be the same in form, but different in value. The government would have no part in the transaction, except to coin the silver bullion into dollars. It would share in no part of the profit. It would take upon itself no obligation. It would not put the dollars into circulation. It could only get them as any citizen would get them—by giving something for them. It would deliver them to those who deposited the silver, and its connection with the transaction there end.

Such are the silver dollars which would be issued under free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Who would then maintain the parity? What would keep them at par with gold? There would be no obligation resting upon the government to do it, and if there were it would be powerless to do it. The simple truth is, we would be driven to a silver basis—to silver monometallism. These dollars, therefore, would stand upon their real value. . . .

Another issue of extreme importance is that of Protection. The peril of free silver is a menace to be feared; we are already experiencing the effect of partial free trade. The one must be averted; the other corrected.

The Republican party is wedded to the doctrine of Protection and was never more earnest in its support and advocacy than now. If argument were needed to strengthen its devotion to "the American system," or increase the hold of that system upon the party and people, it is found in the lesson and experience of the past three years. Men realize in their own daily lives what before was to many of them only report, history or tradition. They have had a trial of both systems and know what each has done for them. . . .

In December, 1892, President Harrison sent his last message to Congress. It was an able and exhaustive review of the condition and resources of the country. It stated our situation so accurately that I am sure it will not be amiss to recite his official and valuable testimony.

"There never has been a time in our history," said he, "when work was so abundant, or when wages were so high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their power to supply the necessities and comforts of life. The general average of prices has been such as to give to agriculture a fair participation in the general prosperity."

This fairly describes the happy condition of the country in December, 1892. What has it been since, and what is it now? . . .

The messages of President Cleveland from the beginning of his second administration to the present time abound with descriptions of the deplorable industrial and financial situation of the country. . . .

What a startling and sudden change within the short period of eight months, from December, 1892, to August, 1893. What had occurred?

A change of administration. All branches of the government had been intrusted to the Democratic party, which was committed against the protective policy that had prevailed uninterruptedly for more than thirty-two years and brought unexampled prosperity to the country, and firmly pledged to its complete overthrow and the substitution of a Tariff for revenue only. The change having been decreed by the elections in November, its effects were at once anticipated and felt.

We cannot close our eyes to these altered conditions, nor would it be wise to exclude from contemplation and investigation the causes which produced them. They are facts which we cannot as a people disregard, and we can only hope to improve our present condition by a study of their causes.

In December, 1892, we had the same currency and practically the same volume of currency that we have now. It aggregated in 1892, \$2,372,599,501; in 1893, \$2,323,000,000; in 1894, \$2,323,442,362; and in December, 1895, \$2,194,000,230. The per capita of money has been practically the same during this whole period. The quantity of the money has been identical—all kept equal to gold.

There is nothing connected with our money, therefore, to account for this sudden and aggravated industrial change. Whatever is to be deprecated in our financial system, it must everywhere be admitted that our money has been absolutely sound and has brought neither loss nor inconvenience to its holders. A depreciated currency has not existed to further vex the troubled business situation.

It is a mere pretense to attribute the hard times to the fact that

all our currency is on a gold basis. Good money never made times hard. Those who assert that our present industrial and financial depression is the result of the gold standard have not read American history aright or been careful students of the events of recent years.

We never had greater prosperity in this country, in every field of employment and industry, than in the busy years from 1880 to 1892, during all of which time this country was on a gold basis and employed more gold money in its fiscal and business operations than ever before. We had, too, a protective Tariff, under which ample revenues were collected for the government, and an accumulating surplus, which was constantly applied to the payment of the public debt.

Let us hold fast to that which we know is good. It is not more money we want; what we want is to put the money we already have at work. When money is employed men are employed. Both have always been steadily and remuneratively engaged during all the years of protective Tariff legislation. When those who have money lack confidence in the stability of values and investments, they will not part with their money. Business is stagnated—the life-blood of trade is checked and congested. . . .

We have either been sending too much money out of the country, or getting too little in, or both. We have lost steadily in both directions. Our foreign trade has been diminished and our domestic trade has suffered incalculable loss. Does not this suggest the cause of our present depression and indicate its remedy?

Confidence in home enterprises has almost wholly disappeared. Our shops are closed, or running on half time at reduced wages and small profit if not actual loss. Our men at home are idle, and while they are idle the men abroad are occupied in supplying us with goods.

Our unrivalled home market for the farmer has also greatly suffered because those who constitute it—the great army of American wage-earners—are without the work and wages they formerly had. If they cannot earn wages they cannot buy products. They cannot earn if they have no employment, and, when they do not earn, the farmer's home market is lessened and impaired, and the loss is felt by both producer and consumer.

The loss of earning power alone in this country in the past three years is sufficient to have produced our unfortunate business situation. If our labor was well employed, and employed at as remuner-

ative wages as in 1892, in a few months every farmer in the land would feel the glad change in the increased demand for his products and in the better prices which he would receive.

It is not an increase in the volume of money which is the need of the time, but an increase in the volume of business. Not an increase of coin, but an increase of confidence. Not more coinage, but a more active use of the money coined. Not open mints for the unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, but open mills for the full and unrestricted labor of American workingmen.

While the Republicans maintained in the early part of the canvass that the Tariff was still a most important issue, yet during the closing weeks hardly any subject was discussed except the money question, and the injury that free silver would have upon the honor and industries of the country. The solid business men of the Eastern and Middle States almost without exception rallied to the support of Mr. McKinley. The gold Democrats voted for McKinley or Palmer to a large extent, according as to whether such vote in the State cast would most hurt the Democratic electoral ticket.

While there was more or less alarm and apprehension during the summer and fall as to the outcome, it can hardly be said that Mr. McKinley's election was at any time in doubt, particularly after Vermont and Maine in October had given unprecedented majorities for the Republican ticket. The most influential Democratic papers of the country, and most of the so-called independent papers were supporting the Republican ticket, and though the Free-Trade press found it hard to accept Mr. McKinley, yet the dread of free silver so overshadowed all else, that there was no hesitancy about endorsing the candidates of the Republican party in preference to those of the Democratic party. The Populists, wherever possible, fused with the Democrats, but to no purpose except in Silver strongholds. The election passed off without incident, the result of the popular and subsequent electoral vote being shown on the following page:

STATES	POPULAR VOTE					ELECTORAL VOTE	
	William McKinley, Ohio	William J. Bryan, Nebraska	Bryan and Watson ¹	John M. Palmer, Illinois	Joshua Levering, Maryland	McKinley and Hobart	Bryan and Sewall ²
Alabama.....	54,737	131,226	24,089	6,462	2,147		11
Arkansas.....	37,512	110,103			839		8
California.....	146,688	144,766	21,730	2,006	2,573	8	1
Colorado.....	26,271	161,269	2,389	1	1,717		4
Connecticut.....	110,285	56,740		4,336	1,806	6	
Delaware.....	20,452	16,615		966	602	3	
Florida.....	11,257	31,958	1,977	1,772	644		4
Georgia.....	60,001	94,672	440	2,708	5,716		13
Idaho.....	6,324	23,192			181		3
Illinois.....	607,130	464,523	1,090	6,390	9,796	24	
Indiana.....	323,754	305,573		2,145	3,056	15	
Iowa.....	289,293	223,741		4,516	3,192	13	
Kansas.....	159,541	171,810	46,194	1,209	1,921		10
Kentucky.....	218,171	217,890		5,114	4,781	12	1
Louisiana.....	22,037	77,175		1,915			8
Maine.....	80,461	34,587	2,387	1,866	1,589	6	
Maryland.....	136,978	104,746		2,507	5,922	8	
Massachusetts...	278,976	105,711	15,181	11,749	2,998	15	
Michigan.....	293,582	237,268		6,968	5,025	14	
Minnesota.....	193,503	139,735		3,222	4,363	9	
Mississippi.....	5,123	63,793	7,517	1,071	485		9
Missouri.....	304,940	363,652		2,355	2,169		17
Montana.....	10,494	42,537			186		3
Nebraska.....	103,064	115,999		2,797	1,243		8
Nevada.....	1,938	8,377	575				3
New Hampshire...	57,444	21,650	379	3,520	779	4	
New Jersey.....	221,367	133,675		6,373	5,614	10	
New York.....	819,838	551,369		18,950	16,052	36	
North Carolina...	155,222	174,488		578	676		11
North Dakota...	26,335	20,686			358	3	
Ohio.....	525,991	477,497	2,615	1,858	5,068	23	
Oregon.....	48,779	46,662		977	919	4	
Pennsylvania...	728,300	433,230	11,176	10,921	19,274	32	
Rhode Island...	37,437	14,459		1,166	1,160	4	
South Carolina...	9,313	58,801		824			9
South Dakota...	41,042	41,225			683		4
Tennessee.....	148,773	166,268	4,525	1,951	3,098		12
Texas.....	167,520	370,434	79,572	5,046	1,786		15
Utah.....	13,491	64,607		21			3
Vermont.....	50,991	10,607	461	1,329	728	4	
Virginia.....	135,388	154,985		2,127	2,350		12
Washington.....	39,153	51,646		1,668	968		4
West Virginia...	104,414	92,027		677	1,203	6	
Wisconsin.....	268,135	165,523		4,584	7,509	12	
Wyoming.....	10,072	10,655	286		136		3
Total.....	7,111,607	6,509,052	222,583	134,645	131,312	271	176

¹ Bryan and Watson's vote is included in the vote for W. J. Bryan.² Electoral votes were cast for Watson as follows: Arkansas, 3; Louisiana, 4; Missouri, 4; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 4; North Carolina, 5; South Dakota, 2; Utah, 1; Washington, 2; Wyoming, 1.

CHAPTER XIV

ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY—THE DINGLEY LAW—WAR WITH SPAIN—THE PHILIPPINES—CUBA—THE BOXER UPRISING

THE second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress began Monday, December 7, 1896. A considerable portion of the President's annual message was devoted to the Cuban question. Attention was called to the fact that from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 of American capital was invested in business enterprises on the island, and that the trade between the United States and Cuba had reached \$100,000,000 annually. The President concluded this part of his message as follows:

Whatever circumstances may arise, our policy and our interests would constrain us to object to the acquisition of the island or an interference with its control by any other power. It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. While we are anxious to accord all due respect to the sovereignty of Spain, we cannot view the pending conflict in all its features, and properly apprehend our inevitable close relations to it, and its possible results, without considering that by the course of events we may be drawn into such an unusual and unprecedented condition as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest, either alone and in her own way or with our friendly co-operation. When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife, which means nothing more than the useless

sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge. Deferring the choice of ways and methods until the time for action arrives, we should make them depend upon the precise conditions then existing, and they should not be determined upon without giving careful heed to every consideration involving our honor and interest, or the international duty we owe to Spain. Until we face the contingencies suggested, or the situation is by other incidents imperatively changed, we should continue in the line of conduct heretofore pursued, thus in all circumstances exhibiting our obedience to the requirements of public law and our regard for the duty enjoined upon us by the position we occupy in the family of nations. A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a careless disregard of present duty or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind the Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests—as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by considerations of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country, intimately related to us, saved from complete devastation—will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace.

The President called attention to the settlement of the Venezuelan boundary question, and to the fact that negotiations for a treaty of general arbitration for all differences between Great Britain and the United States were likely to receive early consummation. The message was of extreme length and concluded with the following complacent paragraph:

When our differences are forgotten, and our contests of political opinion are no longer remembered, nothing in the retrospect of our public service will be as fortunate and comforting as the recollection of official duty well performed and the memory of a constant devotion to the interests of our confiding fellow-countrymen.

Aside from the attempt to pass an immigration bill, which was vetoed by the President, the session was unimportant.

President McKinley announced his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, John Sherman of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger of Michigan; Attorney-General, Joseph McKenna of California; Postmaster-General, James A. Gary of Maryland; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson of Iowa.

A special session of the Senate of the Fifty-fifth Congress was held March 4, 1897, Vice-President Hobart, who had taken the oath of office, presiding. The inauguration ceremonies ensued, and President McKinley, having taken the oath of office, delivered his inaugural address. Among other things the President said:

The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. It will be my constant endeavor to secure it by co-operation with the other great commercial powers of the world. Until that condition is realized when the parity between our gold and silver money springs from and is supported by the relative value of the two metals, the value of the silver already coined and of that which may hereafter be coined must be kept constantly at par with gold by every resource at our command. The credit of the Government, the integrity of its currency, and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved. This was the commanding verdict of the people, and it will not be unheeded. . . .

The depression of the past four years has fallen with especial severity upon the great body of toilers of the country, and upon none more than the holders of small farms. Agriculture has languished and labor suffered. The revival of manufacturing will be a relief to both. No portion of our population is more devoted to the institutions of free government nor more loyal in their support, while none bears more cheerfully or fully its proper share in the maintenance of the Government or is better entitled to its wise and liberal care and protection. Legislation helpful to producers is beneficial to all. The depressed condition of industry on the farm and in the mine and factory has lessened the ability of the people to

meet the demands upon them, and they rightfully expect that not only a system of revenue shall be established that will secure the largest income with the least burden, but that every means will be taken to decrease, rather than increase, our public expenditure. Business conditions are not the most promising. It will take time to restore the prosperity of former years. If we cannot promptly attain it, we can resolutely turn our faces in that direction and aid its return by friendly legislation. However troublesome the situation may appear, Congress will not, I am sure, be found lacking in disposition or ability to relieve it as far as legislation can do so. The restoration of confidence and the revival of business, which men of all parties so much desire, depend more largely upon the prompt, energetic, and intelligent action of Congress than upon any other single agency affecting the situation. . . .

In calling an extra session of Congress the President said :

It has been the uniform practice of each President to avoid, as far as possible, the convening of Congress in extraordinary session. It is an example which, under ordinary circumstances and in the absence of a public necessity, is to be commended, but a failure to convene the representatives of the people in Congress in extra session when it involves a public duty, places a responsibility of such neglect upon the Executive himself. The condition of the public treasury, as has been indicated, demands the attention of Congress. It alone has the power to provide revenue for the Government. Not to convene it under such circumstances, I can view in no other sense than the neglect of a plain duty. I do not sympathize with the sentiment that Congress in session is dangerous to our business interests. Its members are the agents of the people, and their presence at the seat of Government in the execution of the sovereign will should not operate as an injury, but a benefit. There could be no better time to put the Government upon a sound and economical basis than now. The people have only recently voted that this should be done, and nothing is more binding upon the agents of their will than the obligation of immediate action. It has always seemed to me that the postponement of the meetings of Congress until more than a year after it has been chosen deprived Congress too often of the inspiration of the popular will and the country of the corresponding benefits. It is evident, therefore, that to postpone action in the presence of so great a necessity would be unwise

on the part of the Executive because unjust to the interests of the people. Our actions now will be freer from mere partisan consideration than if the question of Tariff revision was postponed until the reorganization of Congress. We are nearly two years from a congressional election, and politics cannot so greatly distract us as if such contest were immediately pending. We can approach the problem calmly and patriotically, without fearing its effect upon an early election. Our fellow-citizens who may disagree with us upon the character of this legislation prefer to have the question settled now, even against their preconceived views—and perhaps settled so reasonably, as I trust and believe it will, as to insure great permanence—than to have further uncertainty menacing the varied business interests of the United States. Again, whatever action Congress may take will be given a fair opportunity for trial before the people are called to pass judgment on it, and this I consider a great essential to the rightful and lasting settlement of the question. In view of these considerations I shall deem it my duty as President to convene Congress in extraordinary session on Monday, the 15th day of March, 1897.

In conformity with the President's call the extra session of the Fifty-fifth Congress began on March 15, 1897. Thomas B. Reed of Maine was elected Speaker of the House by a vote of 200 to 114 for James W. Bailey of Texas, 21 for John C. Bell of Colorado, and 1 for Francis G. Newlands of Nevada.

The President's special message dealt wholly with the condition of the Treasury and the need for increased revenue. On the same day that Congress assembled Mr. Dingley of Maine, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a Tariff bill, and on March 19th the measure, which had been referred to the Ways and Means Committee, was reported from the committee. On the same day a privileged report was submitted by the Committee on Rules providing for the discussion of the measure and an early vote. Monday, March 22d, was the day set for opening the debate in Committee of the Whole, the general debate to close on March 25th, and the vote to be taken upon the passage of the measure March 31st. The special rule was adopted by a vote of 180 to 132. The debate upon the bill was most voluminous in spite

of the limited time allowed by the rule. The sessions of the House, however, were from ten o'clock in the morning to five in the afternoon, and from eight to eleven in the evening, giving more than double the time of the ordinary sessions of the House. It would be impossible to give even a summary of the debate for and against the bill. That part of the speech of Mr. Dingley referring to the need for increased revenue was as follows:

Congress has been convened in extraordinary session by the President for the purpose of providing adequate revenue for carrying on the Government. The exigency which has brought us here is so clearly stated in the message of the President, and is so fully recited in the report of the Committee on Ways and Means, submitting the pending revision of the Tariff for the consideration of the House, that I need not detain you repeating the story so completely within your own knowledge. . . .

In the light of this course of events, and in the face of the chronic deficiency requiring immediate relief, the Committee on Ways and Means have reported the pending bill to revise the Tariff for the ends indicated by the title, to wit, to provide additional revenue to carry on the Government, and at the same time, in adjusting the duties to secure this revenue, to encourage the industries of the United States.

In this revision the committee have endeavored to discard mere theories, and have addressed themselves to the framing of a practical remedy, at least in part, for the ills which have for so many months overshadowed the country.

It is a condition and not a theory which confronts us. Our problem is to provide adequate revenue from duties on imports to carry on the Government, and in imposing duties to secure this result to so adjust them as to secure to our own people the production and manufacture of such articles as we can produce or make for ourselves without natural disadvantage, and thus provide more abundant opportunities for our labor. For rest assured that no economic policy will prove a success unless it shall in some manner contribute to opening up employment to the masses of our people at good wages. When this shall be accomplished, and thus the purchasing power of the masses is restored, then, and not until then, will prices cease to feel the depressing effect of underconsumption, and the prosperity of our people rise to the standard of 1892.

The great secret of the prosperity of the United States up to 1893, especially after the resumption of specie payments in 1879, was the fact that our people were all at work at good wages, and thus had large purchasing powers. It was this large consuming and purchasing power that made our markets the best in the world, that maintained prices at fair rates—in short, that made this country the admiration and envy of the world.

When, by first the anticipated and then partially realized overthrow of protection, industries were arrested, machinery stopped, wages reduced, and employees discharged, through the transfer of the producing and making of part of what we had previously made to other lands, then the purchasing power of the masses was diminished and the demand for products decreased, and this gorged the markets, abnormally lowered prices, and prostrated industries and business.

Mr. Chairman, the past four years have been enlightening, especially to candid investigation of economic problems. We have been attending a kindergarten on a gigantic scale. The tuition has come high, but no people ever learned so much in so brief a time. Hereafter theories, preached in however captivating language, will have to give way to the teachings of experience.

The arguments for the protective features of the bill contained for the most part a repetition of the conclusions previously set forth by Republican leaders during the debate upon the Mills bill in 1888, the McKinley bill in 1890, and the Wilson bill in 1894. On March 31st the bill passed the House by a vote of 205 yeas, 122 nays, 6 not voting, and 21 answering "present." The bill was debated in the Senate for several weeks, and after 872 amendments were incorporated it passed on July 7th by a vote of 38 to 28, 23 not voting. The House non-concurred in the Senate amendments and a conference committee was appointed, whose report was agreed to by both Houses, and the President approved the act July 24, 1897.

The calling of the special session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and the speedy enactment of the Tariff law that should give sufficient revenue to the Government, and shut out the increasing imports which were displacing home manufactures to the

detriment of our purchasing power and consequent loss to all producers, whether agricultural or manufacturing, was soon vindicated.

It had been the contention of Republican leaders that the financial and industrial depression of the years from 1893 to 1897 were due to the Gorman-Wilson Tariff and not to the character and volume of our money. Although Mr. McKinley and the members of the Fifty-fifth Congress received many Democratic votes, which votes were given because of the Republican party's attitude on the money question, yet Mr. McKinley and his advisers well knew that it was the Tariff and not money that needed the first attention. The confidence in business circles which was restored at once after the election of 1896, when it was known that the Republican party would again be in power in all branches of the Government, was increased as soon as a protective measure was framed and reported, and when the measure itself became a law the wisdom of its framers was seen at once in its successful operation; and the prosperity which it brought to the country has continued unabated, so far as the influence of the law itself is concerned, from its enactment till the publication of this work.

Mr. McKinley was hailed during the campaign of 1896 as the "Advance Agent of Prosperity!" The term was used triumphantly by the Republicans, sneeringly by the Democrats, but the prediction was none the less true, and in but a few weeks, or at most a few months, after the inauguration of the President and the enactment and operation of a protective Tariff, it was on all sides acknowledged that Protection was better than Free Trade.

Although the Dingley law was, comparatively speaking, hastily prepared, quickly debated, and speedily passed, yet it has been without doubt the most perfect and the most scientific, as well as the most successful Tariff law ever placed upon our statute books. The McKinley law was, under the conditions of the time, a most excellent Tariff measure, but before it was thoroughly tried it was severely condemned. Although, in spite of the condemnation manifested at the polls, at the congressional elections of 1890, and the presidential and con-

gressional elections of 1892, before the act was repealed it had proved conclusively that it was a most wise measure and a successful law in all respects. The Dingley law has now been in operation nearly seven years, and may well stand as the best example we have ever had of protective legislation. Under it all sections of the country, and all industries, have thrived as never before in our history. Prosperity has come to all classes of people such as never was before known in this or any other country. Our farmers particularly have been benefited by the operation of the law, and not only have they paid off the mortgages, which were made a special issue by Democratic orators and editors a decade ago, but they are now lending money to Eastern capitalists through the Western banks, which no longer have to call for money each fall to move the crops.

The second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress began on Monday, December 6, 1897. The President's message, in addition to the condition of the Treasury and other departments, devoted considerable attention to the Cuban question, particularly to the advisability of recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cubans. The President contended that for various reasons a recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents would at that time be unwise, and therefore inadmissible, saying:

Should that step hereafter be deemed wise as a measure of right and duty, the Executive will take it.

The President concluded that part of his message as follows:

Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the Government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens, and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring. If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization, and humanity to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world.

Concerning the Hawaiian treaty the President said :

While consistently disavowing from a very early period any aggressive policy of absorption in regard to the Hawaiian group, a long series of declarations through three quarters of a century has proclaimed the vital interest of the United States in the independent life of the islands and their commercial dependence upon this country. At the same time, it has been repeatedly asserted that in no event could the entity of Hawaiian statehood cease by the passage of the islands under the domination or influence of another power than the United States. Under these circumstances, the logic of events required that annexation, heretofore offered but declined, should in the ripeness of time come about as the natural result of the strengthening ties that bind us to those islands, and be realized by the free will of the Hawaiian state.

That treaty was unanimously ratified without amendment by the Senate and President of the republic of Hawaii on the 10th of September last, and only awaits the favorable action of the American Senate to effect the complete absorption of the islands into the domain of the United States. What the conditions of such a union shall be, the political relation thereof to the United States, the character of the local administration, the quality and degree of the elective franchise of the inhabitants, the extension of the Federal laws to the territory or the enactment of special laws to fit the peculiar condition thereof, the regulation if need be of the labor system therein, are all matters which the treaty has wisely relegated to the Congress.

If the treaty is confirmed, as every consideration of dignity and honor requires, the wisdom of Congress will see to it that, avoiding abrupt assimilation of elements perhaps hardly yet fitted to share in the highest franchises of citizenship, and having due regard to the geographical conditions, the most just provisions for self-rule in local matters with the largest political liberties as an integral part of our nation will be accorded to the Hawaiians. No less is due to a people who, after nearly five years of demonstrated capacity to fulfill the obligations of self-governing statehood, come of their free will to merge their destinies in our body politic.

The President concluded his very able message with the following regarding the Civil Service :

The important branch of our Government known as the civil ser-

vice, the practical improvement of which has long been a subject of earnest discussion, has of late years received increased legislative and Executive approval. During the past few months the service has been placed upon a still firmer basis of business methods and personal merit. While the right of our veteran soldiers to reinstatement in deserving cases has been asserted, dismissals for merely political reasons have been carefully guarded against, the examinations for admittance to the service enlarged and at the same time rendered less technical and more practical, and a distinct advance has been made by giving a hearing before dismissal upon all cases where incompetency is charged or demand made for the removal of officials in any of the departments. This order has been made to give to the accused his right to be heard, but without in any way impairing the power of removal, which should always be exercised in cases of inefficiency and incompetency, and which is one of the vital safeguards of the civil-service-reform system, preventing stagnation and deadwood, and keeping every employee keenly alive to the fact that the security of his tenure depends not on favor, but on his own tested and carefully watched record of service.

Much of course still remains to be accomplished before the system can be made reasonably perfect for our needs. There are places now in the classified service which ought to be exempted, and others not classified may properly be included. I shall not hesitate to exempt cases which I think have been improperly included in the classified service, or include those which in my judgment will best promote the public service. The system has the approval of the people, and it will be my endeavor to uphold and extend it.

From the beginning of the session the main subject in Congress was the condition of affairs in Cuba. On the night of February 15, 1898, the United States battleship *Maine*, lying in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by an explosion, and two officers and 264 of her crew perished. The message of the President, transmitted to Congress on March 28th, gives the full details of the affair, with the finding of the Court of Inquiry.

The conclusions of the court were:

That the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to fault or

negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew.

That the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines; and

That no evidence has been obtainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons.

The President concluded his message as follows :

I have directed that the finding of the court of inquiry and the views of this Government thereon be communicated to the Government of her Majesty the Queen Regent, and I do not permit myself to doubt that the sense of justice of the Spanish nation will dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two governments.

It will be the duty of the Executive to advise the Congress of the result, and in the meantime deliberate consideration is invoked.

On April 11th the President sent another special message to Congress, reviewing the whole situation and concluding as follows :

In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island, I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public Treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs Gen. Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me.

The fact with every other pertinent consideration will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1898.

On April 13th Mr. Adams of Pennsylvania reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations in the House of Representatives the following resolution:

Whereas, the Government of Spain for three years past has been waging war on the island of Cuba against a revolution by the inhabitants thereof, without making any substantial progress toward the suppression of said revolution, and has conducted the warfare in a manner contrary to the laws of nations, by methods inhuman and uncivilized, causing the death by starvation of more than 200,000 innocent noncombatants, the victims being for the most part helpless women and children, inflicting intolerable injury to the commercial interests of the United States, involving the destruction of the lives and property of many of our citizens, entailing the expenditure of millions of money in patrolling our coasts and policing the high seas in order to maintain our neutrality; and

Whereas, This long series of losses, injuries, and burdens for which Spain is responsible has culminated in the destruction of the United States battle-ship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana and in the death of 264 of our seamen:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end and with the purpose of securing permanent peace and order there and establishing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent government of their own in the island of Cuba. And the President is hereby authorized and empowered to

use the land and naval forces of the United States to execute the purpose of this resolution.

The attempt of the Democratic minority to substitute a resolution of their own was defeated, and the majority resolution as given above was adopted, the only negative votes being the following:

Nays—Adamson, Bankhead, Boutelle of Maine, Brantley, Brewer, Clayton, Cox, Elliott, Griggs, Howard of Georgia, Johnson of Indiana, Lester, Lewis of Georgia, Loud, Maddox, Simpson, Strait, Tate, Taylor of Alabama—19.

Perry answered "Present," while eleven members are reported as not voting.

The following joint resolution was subsequently adopted by both Senate and House and approved by the President on April 20, 1898:

Joint resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people and republic of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

Whereas, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battle-ship, with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and cannot longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited: Therefore

First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent, and that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the republic of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that island.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and

the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The House concurred in the Senate amendments, amending them, however, so as to strike out, first, the words "are, and" in the first clause of the resolution; second, all after the word "independent," in the same clause; and, third, to strike out the words "and republic" in the title. After two conferences an agreement was reached by which the House receded from the first amendment, and the Senate concurred in the second and third. The result of the amendments was to avoid the recognition of the existing revolutionary government.

On April 25th the President sent to Congress a message recommending a joint resolution declaring war against Spain, and on the same day the Senate and House of Representatives passed such a bill, which the President immediately signed, the bill being as follows:

A bill declaring that war exists between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That war be, and the same hereby is, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A.D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain.

Second. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the

United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry this act into effect.

With the exception of attempts to make party capital in the discussion of certain measures, the Democratic members of both Senate and House for the most part supported the President and the necessary measures for carrying on the war. Outside of the Halls of Congress, except in Democratic and Mugwump journals, there was no partisanship whatever, and our volunteers were drawn from all political parties, all races and color, and from all sections of the country. The old Confederates were found marching side by side with the enemy of 1861, the most prominent of the former being General Joseph Wheeler of Alabama.

On June 6th the President approved of "a bill to remove all disability imposed by section three of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States." The bill had been introduced in the Senate on May 12th by Mr. Stewart of Nevada, and passed at once without discussion. In the House of Representatives, after a discussion which was entirely good-natured and harmonious, it was passed and sent to the President.

The War Revenue law was debated at length, and as finally sent to the President was a conference measure, which passed the House by a vote of 181 to 131, 42 not voting, and the Senate by a vote of 48 to 28, 13 not voting. The vote was for the most part, in both Houses, on party lines.

The measure for national defence, which had passed before the bill declaring the existence of war between the United States and Spain, and which appropriated \$50,000,000 "for the national defence, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President and to remain available until January 1, 1899," was enacted in both Senate and House without a single negative vote.

It is not within the province of this work to give a detailed account, however brief, of our war with Spain undertaken for the independence of the people of the island of Cuba. The splendid victories on sea and land, the destruction by Commodore, now Admiral, Dewey of the Spanish squadron under Admiral Montejo in the harbor of Manila on May 1st; the

successful trip of the *Oregon* from San Francisco around Cape Horn, arriving at Key West on May 26th; the bombardment of the fortifications at the entrance of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba by Admiral Schley on May 30th; the sinking of the collier *Merrimac* at the mouth of Santiago Harbor by Naval-Constructor Hobson, who with his volunteer crew of six men were taken prisoners and afterwards exchanged; the successful blockading of Cuba; the bombardment of San Juan; the victories of the infantry, including the famous Rough Riders, at San Juan and El Caney, terminating with the destruction of Cervera's fleet on July 3d, all proved the efficiency of the army and navy, and the ability and heroism of our soldiers and sailors. To those who fought in the war, or who volunteered to fight, but did not reach the scene of action, all praise is due, and due to them alone as brave and patriotic Americans, without regard to party.

To the skilful management of the war from beginning to end, praise is due to the Republican party in Congress, and to President McKinley and his Cabinet. Perhaps Mr. McKinley had been the most reluctant of all to assent to the conflict, but in his good judgment and wisdom, knowing that the war was inevitable, he was discreet enough to see that every day that it was postponed made our preparations so much the more ample for a quick, decisive, and humane termination of the unfortunate affair.

After the destruction of Cervera's fleet, through the good offices of the French Ambassador, a protocol agreeing as to the preliminaries to a Treaty of Peace, was signed. The President had demanded the independence of Cuba, cession of Puerto Rico, and one of the Ladronez to the United States, and the retention of Manila by the United States pending the final disposition of the Philippines by a joint commission. On August 13th Manila surrendered to the combined American forces under General Merritt and Admiral Dewey, after a short bombardment. On July 28th Ponce, the second largest city in Puerto Rico, surrendered to General Miles, and the capture of several other towns followed with little or no fighting.

The joint commission provided for in the protocol met at

Paris on October 1st, and on December 10th agreed upon and signed the Treaty of Peace. The American members of the Commission were William R. Day, Ex-Secretary of State, Senators William P. Frye, Cushman K. Davis, and George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid. On January 4, 1899, the treaty was transmitted to the Senate by the President, together with the report of the conferences of the joint sessions of the commission, and other papers. On February 6th in executive session the Senate took a vote upon ratification resulting in 57 for and 27 against, or 1 more than the necessary two-thirds majority. The Republicans who voted against ratification were Eugene Hale of Maine and George F. Hoar of Massachusetts. Ten Democrats, 3 Populists, 3 members of the Silver party, and 1 Independent voted for the treaty. It should be here noted that this ratification, made possible by Democratic and Populistic votes, took place after the attack by the troops of Aguinaldo upon the American forces, and with the full knowledge that the insurrection thus begun would have to be suppressed by the President and the American forces. The treaty was signed by the Queen Regent of Spain on March 17th, and on April 11, 1899, the President issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, A Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, in the name of her august son, Don Alfonso XIII, was concluded and signed by their respective plenipotentiaries at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, the original of which convention, being in the English and Spanish languages, is word for word as follows:

(Here the full text of the treaty is included.)

And *whereas*, The said convention has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two governments were exchanged in the city of Washington on the 11th day of April, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, *William McKinley*, President of the United States of America, have caused the said convention to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 11th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-third.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

By the President:

JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

From the moment that war was declared against Spain, the Democratic, and particularly the Mugwump press of the country, began its attack upon the President, which continued till his death, and which attacks without doubt were indirectly the cause of the deplorable end at Buffalo.

After the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, the President designated General Merritt to proceed thither with an army of occupation, stating in his order that

It will be the duty of the Commander of the expedition, immediately upon arriving in the islands, to publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons, who either by active aid or honest submission co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection. Our occupation should be as free from severity as possible.

Upon the receipt of the announcement of the protocol at Manila, Admiral Dewey demanded the surrender of that city, and, upon being refused, began a bombardment, which, accompanied by the co-operation of the land forces, resulted in the unconditional surrender of the capital of the Philippines. On August 17th a telegram was sent to General Merritt by Adjutant-General Corbin, saying:

The President directs that there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents. "The United States in possession of Manila City,

Manila bay and harbor, must preserve the peace, and protect persons and property within the territory by their military and naval forces. The insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States, and the cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the President." On the 12th of the following December the treaty was signed by the Commissioners at Paris. On December 21st, in an order to the Secretary of War, after referring to the conclusion of the treaty and the cession of future control of the Philippines to the United States, the President said: "The Military Commander is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine islands that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain . . . the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the security of persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the Commander of the forces of occupation to announce that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who either by active aid or by honest submission co-operate with the Government of the United States to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed with firmness, if need be, but without severity so far as may be possible."

From the first it was emphasized by the President that there must be no political alliances with the insurgents, and Admiral Dewey replied that he had entered into no alliances with the insurgents or with any faction. Aguinaldo arrived on the scene and called upon the Commander-in-Chief, after which he was allowed to land at Cavite and organize an army, but, finding that he was not recognized by the American commander, he at once announced himself as dictator and set about raising forces for the purpose of opening hostilities with the Americans. From the report of the Philippine Commission, composed of Admiral Dewey, General Otis, President Schurman, Professor Worcester, and General Denby, we take the following:

When the city of Manila was taken on August 13th, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view of

looting the city, and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of General Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. This confirms the statement already made that he intended to get possession of these arms for the purpose of attacking us. All these demands were refused. After the taking of Manila the feeling between the Americans and the insurgents grew worse day by day. . . . Aguinaldo removed his seat of government to Malolos, where the so-called Filipino congress assembled. . . . On the 21st of September a significant decree passed the Filipino congress imposing a military service on every male over 18 years of age, excepting those holding government positions. In every carriage factory and blacksmith shop in Manila bolos (knives) were being made. . . . Danger signals now multiplied. Aguinaldo endeavored to get the war-making power transferred from congress to himself, and also urged a heavy bond issue to secure one million dollars for the purchase of arms and ammunition. It is now known that elaborate plans had been perfected for a simultaneous attack by the force within and without Manila. . . . Persistent attacks were made to provoke our soldiers to fire. The insurgents were insolent to our guards and made persistent and continuous efforts to push them back and advance the insurgent lines further into the city of Manila. . . . With great tact and patience the commanding general had held his forces in check and now made a final effort to preserve the peace by appointing a commission to meet a similar body appointed by Aguinaldo to "confer with regard to the situation of affairs and to arrive at a mutual understanding of the intent, purposes, aims and desires of the Filipino people and of the people of the United States." Six sessions were held but no substantial results were obtained, the Filipino commissioners being either unable or unwilling to give any definite statements of the intents and aims of their people. . . . The critical moment had now arrived. Aguinaldo secretly ordered the Filipinos who were friendly to him to seek refuge outside the city. . . . On the evening of the 4th of February the insurgent officer came to the front with a detail of men and attempted to pass the guard

on the San Juan bridge. The sentinel drove them back without firing. That same evening a large body of insurgent troops made an advance on the South Dakota outposts, which fell back rather than fire. About the same time the insurgents came in force to the east end of the San Juan bridge. For several nights prior thereto a lieutenant in the insurgent army had been going regularly to our outpost No. 2, of the Nebraska regiment, and attempting to force the outpost back and insisting on posting his guard within the Nebraska lines, and at this time he again appeared with a detail of about six men and approached Private Grayson, the sentinel on duty; he, after halting them three times without effect, fired, killing the lieutenant, whose men returned the fire and then retreated. Immediately rockets were sent up by the Filipinos and they commenced fighting all along the line.

There is established the fact that Aguinaldo's officers persistently defied all military rules with the evident purpose of provoking the conflict, for which his troops seemed to have been ready. On this point, the commission says:

It is known of all men that immediately after the first shooting the insurgents opened fire all along their line and continued to fire until about midnight, and about 4 o'clock on the (following) morning of February 5th the insurgents again opened fire all round the city and kept it up until the Americans charged them and drove them with great slaughter out of their trenches.

The third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress began December 5, 1898. The President's message consisted of a review of the Spanish War, the operations of the army and navy, and the administration of the various executive departments. Regarding the war expenditures the President said:

The national defense fund of \$50,000,000 was expended in large part by the army and navy, and the objects for which it was used are fully shown in the reports of the several secretaries. It was a most timely appropriation, enabling the Government to strengthen its defenses and make preparations greatly needed in case of war.

This fund being inadequate to the requirements of equipment and for the conduct of the war, the patriotism of the Congress provided the means in the war-revenue act of June 13 by authorizing a 3-

per-cent. popular loan not to exceed \$400,000,000 and by levying additional imposts and taxes. Of the authorized loan, \$200,000,000 were offered and promptly taken, the subscriptions so far exceeding the call as to cover it many times over, while, preference being given to the smaller bids, no single allotment exceeded \$5,000. This was a most encouraging and significant result, showing the vast resources of the nation and the determination of the people to uphold their country's honor.

The first and most important subject before the Senate was the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Spain, the vote upon which has already been given. Following this the Nicaraguan Canal bill was discussed, and this was followed by a bill introduced for increasing the efficiency of the army, and also a bill to reorganize and increase the efficiency of the navy. An act to provide for taking the twelfth and subsequent censuses was passed by both Houses and approved by the President March 3, 1899.

The first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress met on Monday, December 4, 1899. Thomas B. Reed, who had been for several terms such an able Speaker, had resigned his seat and was succeeded by Amos L. Allen. David B. Henderson of Iowa was elected Speaker of the House, receiving 181 votes to 156 for James D. Richardson of Tennessee, 4 for John C. Bell of Colorado, and 2 for Francis G. Newlands of Nevada. The Senate was composed of 52 Republicans, 26 Democrats, and 8 Populists, Silverites, and Independents. The majority which had existed in the Senate in favor of free silver had now entirely disappeared. William P. Frye of Maine was chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate. The President's message opened with the following paragraph:

At the threshold of your deliberations you are called to mourn with your countrymen the death of Vice-President Hobart, who passed from this life on the morning of Nov. 21 last. His great soul now rests in eternal peace. His private life was pure and elevated, while his public career was ever distinguished by large capacity, stainless integrity, and exalted motives. He has been removed from the high office which he honored and dignified, but his lofty character,

his devotion to duty, his honesty of purpose, and noble virtues remain with us as a priceless legacy and example.

Referring to the South African war the President said:

This Government has maintained an attitude of neutrality in the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of Africa. We have remained faithful to the precept of avoiding entangling alliances as to affairs not of our direct concern. Had circumstances suggested that the parties to the quarrel would have welcomed any kindly expression of the hope of the American people that war might be averted, good offices would have been gladly tendered. The United States representative at Pretoria was early instructed to see that all neutral American interests be respected by the combatants. This has been an easy task in view of the positive declarations of both British and Boer authorities that the personal and property rights of our citizens should be observed.

Upon the withdrawal of the British agent from Pretoria the United States consul was authorized, upon the request of the British Government and with the assent of the South African and Orange Free State Governments, to exercise the customary good offices of a neutral for the care of British interests. In the discharge of this function I am happy to say that abundant opportunity has been afforded to show the impartiality of this Government toward both the combatants.

A portion of the message devoted to Cuban affairs is given as follows:

The withdrawal of the authority of Spain from the island of Cuba was effected by the 1st of January, so that the full re-establishment of peace found the relinquished territory held by us in trust for the inhabitants, maintaining, under the direction of the Executive, such government and control therein as should conserve public order, restore the productive conditions of peace so long disturbed by the instability and disorder which prevailed for the greater part of the preceding three decades, and build up that tranquil development of the domestic state whereby alone can be realized the high purpose, as proclaimed in the joint resolution adopted by the Congress on the 19th of April, 1898, by which the United States disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over Cuba, except for the pacification thereof, and asserted its determination when that was accomplished to leave the government

and control of the island to its people. The pledge contained in this resolution is of the highest honorable obligation and must be sacredly kept.

I believe that substantial progress has been made in this direction. All the administrative measures adopted in Cuba have aimed to fit it for a regenerated existence by enforcing the supremacy of law and justice; by placing wherever practicable the machinery of administration in the hands of the inhabitants; by instituting needed sanitary reforms; by spreading education; by fostering industry and trade; by inculcating public morality, and, in short, by taking every rational step to aid the Cuban people to attain to that plane of self-conscious respect and self-reliant unity which fits an enlightened community for self-government within its own sphere, while enabling it to fulfill all outward obligations.

This nation has assumed before the world a grave responsibility for the future good government of Cuba. We have accepted a trust the fulfillment of which calls for the sternest integrity of purpose and the exercise of the highest wisdom. The new Cuba yet to arise from the ashes of the past must needs be bound to us by ties of singular intimacy and strength if its enduring welfare is to be assured. Whether those ties shall be organic or conventional, the destinies of Cuba are in some rightful form and manner irrevocably linked with our own, but how and how far is for the future to determine in the ripeness of events. Whatever be the outcome, we must see to it that free Cuba be a reality, not a name; a perfect entity, not a hasty experiment bearing within itself the elements of failure. Our mission, to accomplish which we took up the wager of battle, is not to be fulfilled by turning adrift any loosely framed commonwealth to face the vicissitudes which too often attend weaker states whose natural wealth and abundant resources are offset by the incongruities of their political organization and the recurring occasions for internal rivalries to sap their strength and dissipate their energies. The greatest blessing which can come to Cuba is the restoration of her agricultural and industrial prosperity, which will give employment to idle men and re-establish the pursuits of peace. This is her chief and immediate need.

Referring to the affairs in Manila, after speaking of the commission and the character of the commissioners who had been sent there, the President said :

But before their arrival at Manila the sinister ambition of a few leaders of the Filipinos had created a situation full of embarrassment for us and most grievous in its consequences to themselves. The clear and impartial preliminary report of the commissioners, which I transmit herewith, gives so lucid and comprehensive a history of the present insurrectionary movement that the story need not be here repeated. It is enough to say that the claim of the rebel leader that he was promised independence by any officer of the United States in return for his assistance has no foundation in fact and is categorically denied by the very witnesses who were called to prove it. The most the insurgent leader hoped for when he came back to Manila was the liberation of the islands from the Spanish control, which they had been laboring for years without success to throw off.

The prompt accomplishment of this work by the American army and navy gave him other ideas and ambitions, and insidious suggestions from various quarters perverted the purposes and intentions with which he had taken up arms. No sooner had our army captured Manila than the Filipino forces began to assume an attitude of suspicion and hostility which the utmost efforts of our officers and troops were unable to disarm or modify. Their kindness and forbearance were taken as a proof of cowardice. The aggressions of the Filipinos continually increased until finally, just before the time set by the Senate of the United States for a vote upon the treaty, an attack, evidently prepared in advance, was made all along the American lines, which resulted in a terribly destructive and sanguinary repulse of the insurgents.

Ten days later an order of the insurgent government was issued to its adherents who had remained in Manila, of which Gen. Otis justly observes that "for barbarous intent it is unequalled in modern times." It directs that at 8 o'clock on the night of the 15th of February the "territorial militia" shall come together in the streets of San Pedro armed with their *bolos*, with guns and ammunition where convenient; that Filipino families only shall be respected; but that all other individuals, of whatever race they may be, shall be exterminated without any compassion, after the extermination of the army of occupation, and adds: "Brothers, we must avenge ourselves on the Americans and exterminate them, that we may take our revenge for the infamies and treacheries which they have committed upon us. Have no compassion upon them; attack with vigor." A copy of this fell by good fortune into the hands of our officers, and

they were able to take measures to control the rising, which was actually attempted on the night of Feb. 22, a week later than was originally contemplated. Considerable numbers of armed insurgents entered the city by waterways and swamps, and in concert with confederates inside attempted to destroy Manila by fire. They were kept in check during the night, and the next day driven out of the city with heavy loss.

This was the unhappy condition of affairs which confronted our commissioners on their arrival in Manila. They had come with the hope and intention of co-operating with Admiral Dewey and Major-Gen. Otis in establishing peace and order in the archipelago and the largest measure of self-government compatible with the true welfare of the people. What they actually found can best be set forth in their own words.

Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous, and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat.

It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there had been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants.

The course thus clearly indicated has been unflinchingly pursued. The rebellion must be put down. Civil government cannot be thoroughly established until order is restored. With a devotion and gallantry worthy of its most brilliant history, the army, ably and loyally assisted by the navy, has carried on this unwelcome but most righteous campaign with richly deserved success. The noble self-sacrifice with which our soldiers and sailors whose terms of service had expired refused to avail themselves of their right to return home so long as they were needed at the front forms one of the brightest pages in our annals. Although their operations have been somewhat interrupted and checked by a rainy season of unusual violence

and duration, they have gained ground steadily in every direction, and now look forward confidently to a speedy completion of their task.

The unfavorable circumstances connected with an active campaign have not been permitted to interfere with the equally important work of reconstruction. Again I invite your attention to the report of the commissioners for the interesting and encouraging details of the work already accomplished in the establishment of peace and order and the inauguration of self-governing municipal life in many portions of the archipelago.

The President concluded his message as follows :

The 14th of December will be the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Washington. For a hundred years the republic has had the priceless advantage of the lofty standard of character and conduct which he bequeathed to the American people. It is an inheritance which time, instead of wasting, continually increases and enriches. We may justly hope that in the years to come the benignant influence of the Father of his Country may be even more potent for good than in the century which is drawing to a close. I have been glad to learn that in many parts of the country the people will fittingly observe this historic anniversary.

Presented to this Congress are great opportunities. With them come great responsibilities. The power confided to us increases the weight of our obligations to the people, and we must be profoundly sensible of them as we contemplate the new and grave problems which confront us. Aiming only at the public good, we cannot err. A right interpretation of the people's will and of duty cannot fail to insure wise measures for the welfare of the islands which have come under the authority of the United States, and inure to the common interest and lasting honor of our country. Never has this nation had more abundant cause than during the past year for thankfulness to God for manifold blessings and mercies, for which we make reverent acknowledgment.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Dec. 5, 1899.

The attention of the session in both Houses was taken up largely with the discussion and passage of the bill "to define

and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes." The bill passed the House on the 18th of December by a vote of 190 to 150, 14 not voting. A similar bill passed the Senate on February 15th by a vote of 46 to 29, 11 not voting. The Senate bill was a substitute for the House measure, and contained various important changes. The House non-concurred in the Senate amendments, and a committee of conference was appointed, whose report was adopted March 13th, the President approving the measure the following day. The first section of the measure was as follows:

That the dollar consisting of 25.8 grains of gold 0.9 fine, as established by section 3511 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, shall be the standard unit of value, and all forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with this standard, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such parity.

The second section provided that:

It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to set apart in the Treasury a reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion, which fund shall be used for such redemption purposes only, and whenever and as often as any of said notes shall be redeemed from said fund it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to use said notes so redeemed to restore and maintain such reserve fund.

The following sections provided for the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury, with provisions concerning the national banks. The last section of the bill reads as follows:

Sec. 14. That the provisions of this act are not intended to preclude the accomplishment of international bimetallism whenever conditions shall make it expedient and practicable to secure the same by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world and at a ratio which shall insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver.

Following the financial measure the bill "temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes," occupied the attention of both Houses for a part of the session. A bill finally reached the President, and was approved by him on April 12th, providing that:

All merchandise coming into the United States from Porto Rico and coming into Porto Rico from the United States shall be entered at the several ports of entry upon payment of fifteen per centum of the duties which are required to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles of merchandise, imported from foreign countries.

The bill also provided:

That the duties and taxes collected in Porto Rico in pursuance of this Act, less the cost of collecting the same, and the gross amount of all collections of duties and taxes in the United States upon articles of merchandise coming from Porto Rico shall not be covered into the general fund of the Treasury, but shall be held as a separate fund, and shall be placed at the disposal of the President to be used for the government and benefit of Porto Rico until the government of Porto Rico herein provided for shall have been organized, when all moneys theretofore collected under the provisions hereof, then unexpended, shall be transferred to the local treasury of Porto Rico.

The bill further provided for regulations as to the government, the currency, officials, elections, and the judiciary of the territory.

On March 2d the President had sent to Congress a message concerning the disposition of the duties, amounting to somewhat over two million dollars, which the United States had collected on productions coming from Porto Rico to the ports of the United States. A bill was at once introduced into the House and passed the same day. It was amended and passed the Senate on March 16th, and after a conference was passed and approved by the President March 24th. The bill read as follows:

That the sum of \$2,095,455.88, being the amount of customs revenue received on importations by the United States from Porto Rico since the evacuation of Porto Rico by the Spanish forces on

the 18th of October, 1898, to the 1st of January, 1900, together with any further customs revenue collected on importations from Porto Rico since the 1st of January, 1900, or that shall hereafter be collected under existing law, shall be placed at the disposal of the President, to be used for the Government now existing and which may hereafter be established in Porto Rico, and for the aid and relief of the people thereof, and for public education, public works, and other governmental and public purposes therein until otherwise provided by law; and the revenues herein referred to, already collected and to be collected under existing law, are hereby appropriated for the purposes herein specified, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The vote upon the passage of this bill in the House was: Yeas, 152, of which 151 were Republicans and 1 Democrat; nays, 130, of which all were Democrats and Populists. The rest of the session was taken up for the most part with miscellaneous acts of general importance. At this session was considered the case of Matthew S. Quay, who had been appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania as Senator after the adjournment of the legislature of that State. Senator Quay's full term expired on the 3d of March, 1899, the legislature of Pennsylvania being still in session. When the legislature adjourned on the 20th of April no election of Senator had resulted. On the 21st day of April, the legislature having adjourned and a vacancy in the office of the United States Senate existing, the Governor appointed Mr. Quay to fill the vacancy until the next meeting of the legislature. The debate over the case in the Senate was exceedingly long, and a resolution refusing to admit him was finally passed by a vote of 33 to 32, 22 not voting. Senator William A. Clark from Montana was refused his seat at this session, a resolution being passed to the effect that he had not been duly and legally elected.

Early in the year 1900, from both official and unofficial sources came information of the anti-foreign movement in China. On March 9th Minister Conger telegraphed as follows:

Missionary troubles still spreading. The situation very critical. The Ministers of England, France, Germany, Italy, and the United

States to-day sent to the Foreign Office an identical note demanding the publication of a strong Imperial decree without delay. If Chinese Government absolutely refuse and the situation does not materially improve, I advise that a naval demonstration by war vessels of each Government should be made in north Chinese waters. My colleagues have telegraphed their Governments similarly.

On May 26th Mr. Conger asked permission to request a guard of marines for his legation from Admiral Kempff, and the request was granted on consideration that the safety of the legation required it. On May 29th the Government received from Mr. Conger the following:

Boxers increasing. Nine Methodist converts brutally murdered at Pachow. The movement has developed into open rebellion. Chinese Government is trying, but apparently is unable to suppress it. Many soldiers disloyal. Several railroad bridges and stations near Peking burned. Legations have ordered guards.

The situation continued to grow more serious, and communication with the legations ceased entirely. On the 17th of June the German Minister was assassinated in the streets of Peking, and an armed attack was made on the legations. To the Viceroy of Nanking and Hu Nan, who represented to the Government that they were able and determined to preserve order and prevent outrages upon foreigners in their respective provinces, Secretary Hay replied, on June 22d:

The Government of the United States has no disposition to send either military or naval forces into any Chinese provinces where the Government shows its ability and its determination to preserve order and to protect foreigners in their lives and their rights.

The situation, however, was becoming desperate, and troops were sent from Manila and further preparations made for the protection of American life and property. On July 3d Secretary Hay sent to our representatives abroad the following:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 3, 1900.

In this critical posture of affairs in China, it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as present circum-

stances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy initiated by us in 1857 of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce and of protection of lives and property of our citizens by all means guaranteed under extra-territorial treaty rights and by the law of nations. If wrong be done to our citizens we propose to hold the responsible authors to the uttermost accountability.

We regard the situation at Peking as one of virtual anarchy, whereby power and responsibility are practically devolved upon the local provincial authorities. So long as they are not in overt collusion with rebellion and use their power to protect foreign life and property we regard them as representing the Chinese people, with whom we seek to remain in peace and friendship. The purpose of the President is, as it has been heretofore, to act concurrently with the other Powers, first, in opening up communication with Peking, and rescuing the American officials, missionaries, and other Americans who are in danger; second, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; third, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests, and fourth, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the Empire and a recurrence of such disasters.

It is, of course, too early to forecast the means of attaining this last result, but the policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

You will communicate the purport of this instruction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

With this definition of purpose and policy the great Powers unanimously agreed.

An attempt was then made through the Chinese Minister, Wu, to obtain information concerning our Minister and, if possible, communication with him. On July 30th Secretary Hay, replying to a suggestion of Li Hung Chang that the ministers might be sent safely to Tientsin, if the powers would agree not to march on Peking, sent the following:

The Government will not enter into any arrangement regarding disposition or treatment of legations without first having free communication with Minister Conger. Responsibility for their protection rests upon Chinese Government. Power to deliver at Tientsin presupposes power to protect and to open communication. This is insisted on.

Upon delivery of this message to Li Hung Chang he asked whether "if free communication were established between ministers and their governments, it could be arranged that the Powers should not advance on Peking pending negotiations."

To this inquiry Secretary Hay sent the following reply on the 1st of August:

GOODNOW, Consul General Shanghai.

I do not think it expedient to submit the proposition of Earl Li to the other Powers. Free communication with our representatives in Peking is demanded as a matter of absolute right, and not as a favor. Since the Chinese Government admits that it possesses the power to give communication, it puts itself in an unfriendly attitude by denying it. No negotiations seem advisable until the Chinese Government shall have put the diplomatic representatives of the Powers in full and free communication with their respective governments and removed all danger to their lives and liberty. We would urge Earl Li earnestly to advise the Imperial authorities of China to place themselves in friendly communication and co-operation with the relief expedition. They are assuming heavy responsibility in acting otherwise.

(Signed)

HAY.

On August 7th the following was received from Minister Conger:

Still besieged. Situation more precarious. Chinese Government insisting upon our leaving Peking which would be certain death. Rifle firing upon us daily by Imperial troops. Have abundant courage but little ammunition or provisions. Two progressive Yamen Ministers beheaded. All connected with Legation of the United States well at the present moment.

Mr. Addee, the acting Secretary of State, on the following day sent a telegram to the Chinese Government advising it to enter into communication with the relief expedition for the purpose of securing co-operation for the liberation of the legations, the protection of foreigners, and the restoration of order. A move was made upon Tientsin by the allied forces, which they took on the morning of July 14th.

Owing, however, to the difficulty of moving troops and transporting supplies in the rainy season, the advance on Peking was not begun until August 4th. On August 17th entrance was made into the city, and, to the relief of all throughout the world, the members of the various legations were found to be alive, although in desperate straits. Negotiations followed between the Powers and the Chinese Government, in which the United States took the foremost part, with the result that on December 22d a joint note was signed, and the demands therein made were accepted by the Chinese Government. It was largely due to the diplomacy of President McKinley and Secretary Hay that the affair was terminated without impairing the integrity of the Chinese Empire, without a declaration of war, and with the safety of the legation, not only of our own country, but of the other countries, and a final satisfactory arrangement securing harmony of action and making to the honor and highest interest of all involved.

CHAPTER XV.

CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGN OF 1900—MCKINLEY AGAIN TRIUMPHS OVER BRYAN.

THE Twelfth National Republican Convention was called to order in the city of Philadelphia, Tuesday, June 19, 1900, by Senator M. A. Hanna, chairman of the Republican National Committee. The city chosen as the meeting-place for the last Republican convention of its first half-century of existence was the same as that chosen for its first national convention in 1856. After prayer was offered, Mr. Hanna concluded his address to the convention as follows:

Delegates, I greet you on the anniversary in Philadelphia of the birthday of our party. I need not remind you that your duty here is one of deliberate judgment, one for which you will be held responsible not only by your party, but by the country. We are called together once more upon the eve of another great struggle. We are now beginning to form our battalions under the leadership of our great statesman-general, William McKinley. I was about to give the order for those battalions to move, but you interrupted me. It needs no order to Republicans when they scent from afar the smoke of battle. It is unnecessary to tell the men who sit in front of me what their duty is.

Before I lay aside my gavel and retire from the position I have held for four years as chairman of the Republican National Committee, I desire in this presence, in the most public manner, to return my sincere thanks to every member of this splendid Committee who stood by me in the struggle of 1896, and especially to that coterie who gathered at the headquarters in New York and Chicago and worked from early morn till late at night for the principles of the

Republican party and for the welfare of their country. I leave it in the hands of others to tell you what that meant, but in passing to others those duties, I want to make one suggestion—always trust the people. I want them to use the motto of the Committee of 1896: "There is no such word as fail."

And now, gentlemen, it becomes my duty and very great pleasure to present as your temporary chairman Senator Wolcott of Colorado.

Senator Wolcott in accepting the honor addressed the convention at considerable length, reciting most eloquently the recent enactments of Congress and the return to prosperity upon the return of the Republican party to power and the enactment of the Dingley law, following the disastrous years under Democracy and Free Trade. Referring to the money issue Mr. Wolcott said:

The campaign four years ago was fought on the currency question. The Populistic Democracy insisted that the United States should embark alone on the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting the concurrence of any other nation. The Republican party insisted that the question of bimetallism was international, and that until it should be settled under agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, gold should continue to be the standard of value in these United States. Upon that issue we triumphed. In accordance with the pledge of the party an honest effort was made to reach some international solution of the question. The effort failed of accomplishment. The mints of the countries of Europe were open for the coinage of gold alone. The vast discoveries of Alaska, South Africa, and the States of our own country, have furnished a steadily increasing volume of gold, and, with the recent European action, have demonstrated that the question is one calling for international action by all the great countries of the world, and, if ever entered into, must be by such concurrent action of the leading commercial nations as shall secure permanence of relative value to the two metals. Meanwhile we follow the path of safety. As we grow year by year more firmly established as a creditor nation, the question concerns us less and other countries more. No impairment of national credit can be contemplated by an honorable nation. We have made advances enough; this country can better afford than any other to enter upon the contest for

commercial supremacy with gold as its standard, and for us the time has come to give fair notice to the world that we, too, make gold our standard and redeem our obligations in that metal. For twelve years the platforms of the party have declared in favor of the use of gold and silver as money. The logic of recent events, together with the attempt of the Democracy to drag down the question from its international character, to associate it with every vagary of Populism and Socialism, and to drive this country to an alliance with Mexico and China, as an exclusively silver using country, has impelled our people to this settlement of the problem, and the recent action of Congress has eliminated the danger which its further agitation menaced.

The provisions of the act secure to the people a needed increase in the volume of currency, prevent the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury, and encourage a more extended use of our bonds by the National Banks of the country. But, above all, the success attending its passage has demonstrated that our own people and the nations of Europe have faith in the permanence of our institutions and our financial integrity. Our debt is funded at two per cent. per annum, and millions of our interest charge saved annually. The world has never witnessed so triumphant a financial success as has followed the passage of the currency law, and our two per cent. bonds, held the world over, already command a substantial premium. Through the policy of the Republican party and the wisdom of a Republican administration, we have not only made stable and permanent our financial credit, at home and abroad, are utilizing more silver as money than ever before in our history, but we have left the Populistic Democracy a dead issue they can never again galvanize into life, and compelled them to seek to create new issues growing out of a war which they were most eager to precipitate.

The Hon. Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota was then elected as temporary secretary of the convention, and the various committees and their chairmen were announced as follows: Permanent Organization, Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio; Rules and Order of Business, Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania; Credentials, Sereno E. Payne of New York; Resolutions, Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. Before the adjournment on the first day the Chair introduced to the convention the Rev. Dr. Edgar M. Levy, who had forty-four

years previously offered prayer at the first Republican National Convention. Dr. Levy offered prayer, after which the convention adjourned until the following day.

After prayer had been offered on the second day the temporary chairman said :

Gentlemen of the Convention, there are present here to-day a body of survivors of the first Republican convention held in Pittsburg and Philadelphia forty-four years ago. They bring with them the same old flag that was then used in the convention, and with your permission I will ask them to step to the front of the stage, and then will have read some resolutions which have been prepared.

At that moment a file of white-haired patriarchs appeared from the rear, bearing a faded American flag, tattered and barely held together by a cross staff. As the flag appeared the entire audience rose, and a deafening salute went up for the faded standard and its venerable upholders. The white-haired men ranged themselves side by side, looking out on the sea of faces. Alongside the flag another standard bore the inscription :

NATIONAL FREMONT ASSOCIATION,

REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Organized February 22d, 1856,

At Pittsburg, Penn.

When the applause had subsided the leader of the delegation presented resolutions, declaring their unwavering allegiance to the party they had helped to bring forth.

Those who were thus presented to the convention were the following: General Joseph R. Hawley, Connecticut; S. Woodard, Illinois; George Schneider, Illinois; Jacob Fussell, Maryland; D. F. Appleton, New York; Judge Rush R. Sloane, Ohio; General B. D. Brinkerhoff, Ohio; John Jacobs, Pennsylvania; Walter Laing, Pennsylvania; G. W. Holstein, M.D., Pennsylvania; Edgar M. Levy, D.D., Pennsylvania; Jacob Wyand, Pennsylvania; George H. Bell, Rhode Island.

The clerk then read the resolutions adopted by the survivors of the first Republican convention.

The report of the Committee on Credentials was agreed to without debate, and the permanent organization of the convention immediately followed. The committee reported for permanent president of the convention Hon. the Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and for the general secretary the Hon. Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota. The report having been agreed to, Mr. Lodge was escorted to the platform by Governor Shaw of Iowa and Governor Roosevelt of New York. Senator Lodge, in a most stirring address to the convention, said among other things:

In 1897 we took the government and the country from the hands of President Cleveland. His party had abandoned him and were joined to their idols, of which he was no longer one. During the last years of his term we had presented to us the melancholy spectacle of a President trying to govern without a party. The result was that his policies were in ruin, legislation was at a standstill and public affairs were in a perilous and incoherent condition. Party responsibility had vanished, and with it all possibility of intelligent action, demanded by the country at home and abroad. It was an interesting but by no means singular display of Democratic unfitness for the practical work of government. To the political student it was instructive, to the country it was extremely painful, to business disastrous.

We replaced this political chaos with a President in thorough accord with his party, and the machinery of government began again to move smoothly and effectively. Thus we kept at once our promise of better and more efficient administration. In four months after the inauguration of President McKinley we had passed a Tariff bill. For ten years the artificial agitation, in behalf of what was humorously called Tariff reform, and of what was really Free Trade, had kept business in a ferment, and had brought a treasury deficit, paralyzed industries, depression, panic, and, finally, continuous bad times to a degree never before imagined. Would you know the result of our Tariff legislation, look about you! Would you measure its success, recollect that it is no longer an issue; that our opponents, Free Traders as they are, do not dare to make it an issue; that there is not a State in the Union to-day which could be

carried for Free Trade against protection. Never was a policy more fully justified by its works, never was a promise made by any party more absolutely fulfilled.

Referring to Hawaii, Cuba, and the Philippines, the speaker said :

But there were still other questions in 1896. We had already thwarted the efforts of the Cleveland administration to throw the Hawaiian Islands back to their dethroned Queen, and to give England a foothold for her cables in the group. We then said that we would settle finally the Hawaiian question. We have done so. The traditional American policy has been carried out. The flag of the Union floats to-day over the crossroads of the Pacific, and her representatives sit with you in this hall.

We promised to deal with the Cuban question. Again comes the reply, We have done so. The long agony of the island is over. Cuba is free. But this great work brought with it events and issues which no man had foreseen, for which no party creed had provided a policy. The crisis came, bringing war in its train. The Republican President and the Republican Congress met the new trial in the old spirit. We fought the war with Spain. The result is history known of all men. We have the perspective now of only a short two years, and yet how clear and bright the great facts stand out, like mountain peaks against the sky, while the gathering darkness of a just oblivion is creeping fast over the low grounds where lie forgotten the trivial and unimportant things, the criticisms and the fault-findings, which seemed so huge when we still lingered among them. Here they are, these great facts: a war of a hundred days with many victories and no defeats, with no prisoners taken from us and no advance stayed, with a triumphant outcome startling in its completeness and in its world-wide meaning. Was ever a war more justly entered upon, more quickly fought, more fully won, more thorough in its results? Cuba is free. Spain has been driven from the Western Hemisphere. Fresh glory has come to our arms and crowned our flag. It was the work of the American people, but the Republican party was their instrument. Have we not the right to say that, here too, even as in the days of Abraham Lincoln, we have fought a good fight, we have kept the faith, we have finished the work.

War, however, is ever like the sword of Alexander. It cuts the

knots. It is a great solvent and brings many results not to be foreseen. The world forces unchained in war perform in hours the work of years of quiet. Spain sued for peace. How was that peace to be made? The answer to this great question had to be given by the President of the United States. We were victorious in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in the Philippines. Should we give these islands back to Spain? Never! was the President's reply. Would any American wish that he had answered otherwise? Should we hand them over to some other power? Never! was again the answer. Would our pride and self-respect as a nation have submitted to any other reply? Should we turn the islands, where we had destroyed all existing sovereignty, loose upon the world to be a prey to domestic anarchy and the helpless spoil of some other nation? Again the inevitable negative. Again the President answered as the nation he represented would have him answer. He boldly took the islands, took them knowing well the burden and responsibility; took them from a deep sense of duty to ourselves and others, guided by a just foresight as to our future in the East, and with an entire faith in the ability of the American people to grapple with the new task. When future Conventions point to the deeds by which the Republican party has made history, they will proclaim with special pride that under a Republican administration the war of 1898 was fought, and that the peace with Spain was the work of William McKinley.

The Senator concluded his speech as follows :

What we have done is known, and about what we intend to do there is neither secrecy nor deception. What we promise we will perform. Our old policies are here, alive, successful and full of vigor. Our new policies have been begun and for them we ask support. When the clouds of impending civil war hung dark over the country in 1861 we took up the great task then laid upon us and never flinched until we had carried it through to victory. Now at the dawn of a new century, with new policies and new opportunities opening before us in the bright sunshine of prosperity, we again ask the American people to entrust us with their future. We have profound faith in the people. We do not distrust their capacity to meet the new responsibilities even as they met the old, and we shall await with confidence, under the leadership of William McKinley, the verdict of November.

After an agreement was reached upon rules and order of business, the report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures,—a protective Tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of National aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

We endorse the administration of President William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legis-

lation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producer, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more

effective restriction on the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The National defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the Civil Service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate National legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

We favor rule for, and the early admission to, statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

The Dingley Act, amended to provided sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded two per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States Consular system should be re-organized under the supervision of this new Department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance

for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of The Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party upon its history, and upon this declaration of principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

The report was unanimously agreed to without debate. The National Republican Committee was then announced, Senator M. A. Hanna afterwards being selected as its chairman, and Cornelius N. Bliss of New York treasurer. The convention then adjourned till the following day.

On Thursday the chairman announced that the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States was in order, and when the reading clerk, in calling the roll of States, called first Alabama, Mr. P. D. Barker of that State said that Alabama yielded to Ohio, and thereupon Mr. Foraker addressed the chair and the convention, saying:

Alabama yields to Ohio, and I thank Alabama for that accommodation. Alabama has so yielded, however, by reason of a fact that would seem in an important sense to make the duty that has been assigned to me a superfluous duty, for Alabama has yielded because our candidate for the Presidency has, in effect, been already nominated. He was nominated by the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he assumed the duties of temporary chairman. He was nominated again yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts when he took the office of permanent chairman; and he was nominated for a third time when the Senator from Indiana yesterday read us the platform. And not only has he been thus nominated by this convention, but he has also been nominated by the whole American people.

From one end of the land to the other, in every mind only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes Republican success next November.

On this account it is that it is not necessary for me or any one else to speak for him here or elsewhere. He has already spoken for himself, and to all the world. He has a record replete with brilliant achievements, a record that speaks at once both his promises and his highest eulogy.

It comprehends both peace and war, and constitutes the most striking illustration possible of triumphant and inspiring fidelity and success in the discharge of public duty.

Four years ago the American people confided to him their highest and most sacred trust. Behold, with what results!

He found the industries of the country paralyzed and prostrated;

he quickened them with a new life that has brought to the American people a prosperity unprecedented in all their history.

He found the labor of the country everywhere idle; he has given it everywhere employment. He found it everywhere in despair; he has made it everywhere prosperous and buoyant with hope.

He found the mills and shops and factories and mines everywhere closed; they are everywhere now open. And while we here deliberate they are sending their surplus products in commercial conquest to the ends of the earth.

Under his wise guidance the financial standard has been firmly planted high above and beyond assault, and the wild cry of "Sixteen to one," so full of terror in 1896, has been hushed to everlasting sleep alongside of the lost cause, and other cherished Democratic heresies, in the catacombs of American politics.

With a diplomacy never excelled and rarely equalled he has overcome what at times seemed to be insurmountable difficulties, and has not only opened to us the door of China, but he has advanced our interests in every land.

Mr. Chairman, we are not surprised by this, for we anticipated it all. When we nominated him at St. Louis four years ago, we knew he was wise, we knew he was brave, we knew he was patient, we knew he would be faithful and devoted, and we knew that the greatest triumphs of peace would be his; but we then little knew that he would be called upon to encounter also the trials of war. That unusual emergency came. It came unexpectedly—as wars generally come. It came in spite of all he could honorably do to avert it. It came to find the country unprepared for it, but it found him equal to all its extraordinary requirements.

It is no exaggeration to say that in all American history there is no chapter more brilliant than that which chronicles, with him as our commander-in-chief, our victories on land and sea.

In one hundred days we drove Spain from the Western Hemisphere, girdled the earth with our acquisitions and filled the world with the splendor of our power.

In consequence the American name has a greater significance now. Our flag has a new glory. It not only symbolizes human liberty and political equality at home, but it means freedom and independence for the long-suffering patriots of Cuba, and complete protection, education, enlightenment, uplifting and ultimate local self-government and the enjoyment of all the blessings of liberty to

the millions of Porto Rico and the Philippines. What we have so gloriously done for ourselves we propose most generously to do for them. We have so declared in the platform that we have here adopted. A fitting place it is for this party to make such declaration, here in this magnificent city of Philadelphia, where the evidences so abound of the rich blessings the Republican party has brought to the American people. Here at the birthplace of the nation, where our own Declaration of Independence was adopted and our Constitution was framed; where Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and John Adams and their illustrious associates wrought their immortal work; here where centre so many historic memories that stir the blood, flush the cheek, and excite the sentiments of liberty, humanity, and patriotism is indeed a most fitting place for the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and Blaine, the party of Union and Liberty for all men, to formally dedicate themselves to this great duty.

We are now in the midst of its discharge. We could not turn back if we would, and would not if we could. We are on trial before the world, and must triumphantly meet our responsibilities, or ignominiously fail in the presence of mankind.

These responsibilities speak to this Convention here and now, and command us that we choose to be our candidate and the next President—which is one and the same thing—the best fitted man for the discharge of this great duty in all the Republic.

On that point there is no difference of opinion. No man in all the nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head, he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience that qualify him beyond all others. And, Mr. Chairman, he has also the stainless reputation and character, and has the blameless life that endear him to his countrymen and give to him the confidence, the respect, the admiration, the love and the affection of the whole American people.

He is an ideal man, representing the highest type of American citizenship, an ideal candidate and an ideal President. With our banner in his hands it will be carried to triumphant victory in November.

In the name of all these considerations, not alone on behalf of his beloved State of Ohio, but on behalf of every other State and Territory here represented, and in the name of all Republicans

everywhere throughout our jurisdiction, I nominate to be our next candidate for the Presidency, William McKinley.

Senator Foraker was followed by Governor Roosevelt of New York, who said, among other things :

Mr. Chairman and my fellow delegates, my beloved Republicans and Americans, I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, the President who has had to face more numerous and graver problems than any other President since the days of the mighty Lincoln, and who has faced them. . . .

We appealed to the nation to put William McKinley in the first place on the two simple issues that if he were elected prosperity would come to the country and the country's honor would be upheld at home and abroad. We did not promise the impossible. We did not say that prosperity would come to every man, no matter whether that man did or did not try to get it. In the long run each man's own thrift, industry, and energy must be the prime factors in determining his success. No legislation can supply their lack, but it is easy enough, by unwise or dishonest legislation or administration, to nullify them absolutely, and it is, though less easy, possible by good administration, clean and wise legislation, to give them the freest possible scope. And it was that scope which we promised should be given.

Well, we kept our word. The opportunity was given, and it was seized by American energy, ingenuity, and thrift, with the result that this country now, as we sit here, has reached a pitch of prosperity never before attained in the nation's history. . . .

We stand on the threshold of a new century big with the fate of mighty nations. It rests with us now to decide whether in the opening years of that century we shall march forward to fresh triumphs or whether at the outset we shall cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world-work of the great world-powers? No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand. Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with eager eyes and rejoices as a strong man to run a race. We do not stand in craven mood asking to be spared the task, cringing as we look on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence allots us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given the right to

win such honor and renown as has never yet been vouchsafed to the nations of mankind.

Other seconding speeches were made by John M. Thurston of Nebraska, John W. Yerkes of Kentucky, George A. Knight of California, and J. A. Mount of Indiana. The roll of States was then called, and upon the conclusion the chairman said:

The Chair will announce the result of the vote. Total number of votes cast, 926; William McKinley has received 926 votes. It is a unanimous vote, and the Chair declares that William McKinley is your nominee for the Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901.

The announcement was received with a demonstration lasting several minutes. The chairman then announced that the next business in order was the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. When Alabama was called, Mr. Barker said that Alabama yielded to Iowa. The Chair then recognized Lafayette Young of that State. Mr. Young's speech was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I have listened with profound interest to the numerous indictments pronounced against the Democratic party, and as an impartial reader of history I am compelled to confess that the indictments are all only too true. If I am to judge, however, by the enthusiasm of this hour, the Republican relief committee sent out four years ago to carry supplies and succor to the prostrate industries of the Republic has returned to make formal report that the duty has been discharged. I can add nothing to this indictment except to say that that unfortunate party, through four years of legislative and administrative control, has made it, up to 1896, impossible for an honest man to get into debt or get out of it.

But, my fellow citizens, you know my purpose; you know the heart of this convention. The country never called for patriotic sons from any given family but that more were offered than there was room for on the enlistment roll. When this convention and this great party called for a candidate for Vice-President two voices responded—one from the Mississippi Valley by birth; another by loving affection and adoption.

It is my mission, representing that part of the great Louisiana Purchase, to withdraw one of these sons and to suggest that the duty be placed upon the other. I therefore withdraw the name of Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, a man born with the thrill of the Lincoln and Fremont campaigns in his heart, and with the power to stir the hearts and consciences of men as part of his birthright.

We turn to this other adopted son of the great Middle West; and at this moment I recall that this is an anniversary with our candidate. Two years ago to-day as many men as there are men and women in this great hall were on board sixty transports lying off Santiago harbor, in full view of the bay, with Morro Castle looming up on the right, and another prominence upon the left, with the opening of the channel between. On board those transports were 20,000 soldiers who had gone away from our shores to liberate another race, to fulfill no obligation but that of humanity.

As camp followers there were those who witnessed this great spectacle of the fleet, and on the ship *Yucatan* was that famous regiment, the Rough Riders of the West and the Mississippi Valley. In command of that regiment was that fearless young American student, scholar, plainsman, reviewer, historian, statesman, soldier, of the Middle West by adoption, of New York by birth. That fleet, sailing around the point, coming to the place of landing, stood off the harbor two years ago to-morrow, and the navy bombarded the shore to make a place for landing. No living man who was in that campaign, as an observer, as a camp follower, as a soldier, can fail to recall, especially if he closes his eyes, the awful scenes in that campaign in June and July, 1898.

The landing being completed, there were those who stood upon the shore and saw those indomitable men land, landing in small boats through waves that dashed against the shore, landing without harbor, but land they did, with their accoutrements and their weapons by their sides. And those who stood upon that shore and saw those men come on, thought they could read in their faces, "Stranger, can you tell me the nearest road to Santiago?" This is the place they were looking for. The name of the leader of that campaign, of one of those regiments, is the one I shall bring before this convention for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I know you have been here a long time, and that you have had politics in abundance; I know the anxiety to complete the work of this Convention, but I cannot for-

bear to say that this occasion has a higher significance than one of politics. The campaign of this year is higher than politics. In fact, if patriotism could have its way there would be but one political party and but one electoral ticket in any State of the Union, because patriotic duty would enforce it.

In many respects the years 1898 and 1899 have been the great years of the Republic. There is not under any sun or in any clime any man or government that dares to insult the flag of the United States—not one. We are a greater and a broader people on account of these achievements. They have made Uncle Sam a cosmopolitan citizen. No one questions his prowess or his bravery. As the result of those campaigns and as a result of the American spirit, my fellow citizens, the American soldier, ten thousand miles away from home, with a musket in his hands, says to the aggressor, to those who are in favor of tyranny: "Halt! Who goes there?" And the same spirit says to the beleaguered hosts of liberty: "Hold the fort; I am coming." Thus says the spirit of Americanism.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I place before you this distinguished leader of Republicanism in the United States, this leader of the aspirations of the people whose hearts are right, this leader of the aspirations of the young men of this country. Their hearts and consciences are with this young leader whom I name for the Vice-Presidency of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt of New York.

M. J. Murray of Massachusetts followed, saying:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Massachusetts commissions me, through her delegation, to speak to you to-day, and she accompanies that request with the injunction that I should be exceedingly brief in what I have to say. We who come from the Old Bay State know and love and appreciate the Governor of New York. He has many times been welcomed within our borders, and we have for him that high appreciation which Massachusetts manhood always has for a thoroughgoing, fighting Republican. We yield to him a full measure of devotion unsurpassed by that of any other delegation upon the floor of the Convention. His life to us is an embodiment of those qualities which appeal everywhere to American manhood, and which are a sufficient guarantee of the kind of public service he will render in this new and high position of responsibility to the American people.

Gentlemen of the Convention, on behalf of the State of Massa-

chusetts, which has furnished to the President of the United States one of the best assistants he has enjoyed in his Cabinet, in the government of the nation's affairs, mindful of the duty which he expects us to perform in this convention, with the heartiest kind of sympathy and regard for the voice of this great gathering, on behalf of the delegation which has complimented me with the privilege I am now to exercise—aye, on behalf of all New England, whose towns and cities have been responsible for some of the character that has entered into the Nation's life—with all the earnestness at my command, I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt of New York.

J. M. Ashton of Washington followed, after which Senator Depew of New York, in response to cries from the floor of the convention, followed with one of his usual characteristic speeches. Senator Depew concluded his speech as follows:

Many of you, as I say, I met in convention four years ago. We all feel what little men we were then compared with what we are to-day. There is not a man here who does not feel four hundred per cent. bigger in 1900 than he did in 1896; bigger intellectually, bigger hopefully, bigger patriotically, bigger in the grasp of the fact that he is a citizen of a country which has become a world power for peace, for civilization, and for the expansion of its industries and the products of its labor.

We have the best ticket ever presented. We have at the head of it a Western man with Eastern notions, and we have at the other end an Eastern man with Western characteristics; the statesman and the cowboy; the accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter; the man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as Governor. We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and Roosevelt.

During the roll-call Mr. Benjamin B. Odell of New York (when New York was called) said: "New York casts 71 votes for Theodore Roosevelt, one not voting." At the conclusion of the roll-call the president of the convention said:

The total vote of the Convention is 926. Nine hundred and twenty-five votes have been cast (one delegate not voting) for Theodore Roosevelt of New York. I hereby declare him your

nominee for the Vice-Presidency for the term beginning March 4, 1901.

The announcement was received with a noisy demonstration most complimentary to the candidate for Vice-President. After appointing committees to notify the nominees, and various acknowledgments to officers of the convention and the city of Philadelphia, the convention adjourned without day.

The Democratic National Convention met on July 4th at Kansas City, Missouri, the temporary chairman being Governor Thomas of Colorado, while the permanent president of the convention was Judge John B. Richardson of Tennessee. On the second day of the convention William Jennings Bryan was nominated for President by acclamation. On the vote for Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois received 559½ votes to 200 for David B. Hill of New York, 89½ for C. A. Towne of Minnesota, and 87 scattering. The platform contained the following plank:

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

Several other political conventions were held during the year, the first on February 6th, when the fourth annual session of the Supreme Council of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union was held in Washington, D. C. The support of the Farmers' Alliance was pledged to the candidates to be chosen by the Democratic party, and a platform was approved demanding "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1."

On March 6th, at Indianapolis, the Social Democrats held their convention and nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana for President and Job Harriman of California for Vice-President.

The Union Reform party, endorsing its own policy of direct legislation, sent out through a canvassing board ballots to members of the party for votes for candidates for President and Vice-President. The voting continued through February and March, and in April the canvassing board announced as their nominations, Seth H. Ellis of Ohio for President, and Samuel T. Nicholson of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

The United Christian party met on May 2d at Rock Island, Illinois, and nominated for President Silas C. Swallow of Pennsylvania, and for Vice-President John G. Woolley of Illinois. These candidates withdrew, and the names of F. R. Leonard of Iowa and David H. Martin of Pennsylvania were substituted, respectively, for President and Vice-President.

On May 10th, at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, the Fusion wing of the People's Party held their convention, and William Jennings Bryan was nominated for President by acclamation. Charles A. Towne of Minnesota was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation, but withdrew on August 8th, when Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, was substituted in his place.

The Middle-of-the-Road People's party held their convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 10th. On the second ballot for President, Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania received 370 votes to 336 for Milford W. Howard of Alabama. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The Socialist-Labor party held their convention in New York City on June 6th, and nominated Joseph F. Maloney of Massachusetts for President and Valentine Rimmel of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

The Prohibition party met in national convention June 28th at Chicago, Illinois, and nominated John G. Woolley of Illinois for President, Mr. Woolley receiving on the first ballot 380 votes to 329 for Silas C. Swallow of Pennsylvania. Henry B. Metcalf of Rhode Island was nominated for Vice-President.

The Silver Republican National Convention met on July 6th at Kansas City, Missouri, and endorsed the candidates of the Democratic party, Bryan and Stevenson.

The national committee of the Gold Democracy met at Indianapolis July 25th and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee the nomination of candidates by the national Democratic party for the offices of President and Vice-President is unwise and inexpedient.

Second, that we reaffirm the Indianapolis platform of 1896.

Third, we recommend the State committees in their respective States to preserve their organization and take such steps as in their opinion may best subserve the principles of our party, especially in the maintenance of a sound currency, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws, a covert attack on which is made under the guise of the denunciation of government by injunction.

We urge the voters not to be deceived by the plea that the money question has been finally settled. The specific reiteration of the demand for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the Kansas City convention and the history known of all men in connection therewith emphasize the danger of this demand. We indorse the action of Congress in passing a bill embodying the gold standard as a step in the right direction. We feel it would be dangerous to elevate to executive power any one hostile to the maintenance and enforcement of this law.

The Anti-Imperialist League met at Indianapolis, Indiana, August 16th and endorsed Mr. Bryan. About one hundred delegates from different States met in Carnegie Hall, New York, September 5th and nominated for President Donelson Caffery of Louisiana, and for Vice-President Archibald Murray Howe of Massachusetts. Senator Caffery and Mr. Howe, however, declined, and no other nominations were made.

Although there were no less than eight distinct tickets in the field, the campaign was in no way an exciting one, and the election of McKinley and Roosevelt was conceded throughout by all impartial judges. The Democrats were on the defensive from the start, while the Republicans had only to point to their splendid record and, making prosperity the issue of the campaign, won easily, Mr. McKinley having more than 800,000 plurality over Mr. Bryan. The popular and electoral vote will be found on the following page:

STATES	POPULAR VOTE			ELECTORAL VOTE	
	William McKinley, Ohio	William J. Bryan, Nebraska	John G. Woolley, Illinois	McKinley and Roosevelt	Bryan and Stevenson
Alabama.....	55,512	97,131	2,762		11
Arkansas.....	44,800	81,142	584		8
California.....	164,755	124,985	5,024	9	
Colorado.....	93,072	122,733	3,790		4
Connecticut.....	102,567	73,997	1,617	6	
Delaware.....	22,529	18,858	538	3	
Florida.....	7,314	28,007	1,039		4
Georgia.....	35,035	81,700	1,396		13
Idaho.....	26,997	29,414	857		3
Illinois.....	597,985	503,061	17,623	24	
Indiana.....	336,063	309,584	13,718	15	
Iowa.....	307,785	209,179	9,479	13	
Kansas.....	185,955	162,601	3,605	10	
Kentucky.....	227,128	235,103	3,780		13
Louisiana.....	14,233	53,671			8
Maine.....	65,435	36,822	2,585	6	
Maryland.....	136,212	122,271	4,582	8	
Massachusetts.....	238,866	156,997	6,202	15	
Michigan.....	316,269	211,685	11,859	14	
Minnesota.....	190,461	112,901	8,555	9	
Mississippi.....	5,753	51,706			9
Missouri.....	314,092	351,922	5,965		17
Montana.....	25,373	37,146	298		3
Nebraska.....	121,835	114,013	3,655	8	
Nevada.....	3,849	6,347			3
New Hampshire.....	54,803	35,489	1,270	4	
New Jersey.....	221,707	164,808	7,183	10	
New York.....	821,992	678,386	22,043	36	
North Carolina.....	133,081	157,752	1,006		11
North Dakota.....	35,891	20,519	731	3	
Ohio.....	543,918	474,882	10,203	23	
Oregon.....	46,526	33,385	2,536	4	
Pennsylvania.....	712,665	424,232	27,908	32	
Rhode Island.....	33,784	19,812	1,529	4	
South Carolina.....	3,579	47,236			9
South Dakota.....	54,530	39,544	1,542	4	
Tennessee.....	121,194	144,751	3,900		12
Texas.....	121,173	267,337	2,644		15
Utah.....	47,139	45,006	209	3	
Vermont.....	42,568	12,849	368	4	
Virginia.....	115,865	146,080	2,150		12
Washington.....	57,456	44,833	2,363	4	
West Virginia.....	119,829	98,807	1,692	6	
Wisconsin.....	265,866	159,285	10,124	12	
Wyoming.....	14,482	10,164		3	
Total.....	7,207,923	6,358,133	208,914	292	155

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH OF MCKINLEY—ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT— PROSPERITY—RECIPROCITY—ARBITRATION.

THE second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress opened December 3, 1900. President McKinley's annual message to Congress, which was destined to be his last, in spite of his re-election, was taken up largely with the Chinese legislation and a review of the events of the year. Concluding this subject the President said:

The policy of the United States through all this trying period was clearly announced and scrupulously carried out. A circular note to the powers dated July 3d proclaimed our attitude. Treating the condition in the north as one of virtual anarchy, in which the great provinces of the south and southeast had no share, we regarded the local authorities in the latter quarters as representing the Chinese people, with whom we sought to remain in peace and friendship. Our declared aims involved no war against the Chinese nation. We adhered to the legitimate office of rescuing the imperilled legation, obtaining redress for wrongs already suffered, securing wherever possible the safety of American life and property in China, and preventing a spread of the disorders or their recurrence.

As was then said, "The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

Faithful to those professions which, as it proved, reflected the views and purposes of the other co-operating governments, all our efforts have been directed toward ending the anomalous situation in

China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its dependents was accomplished we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving our legation under an adequate guard in Pekin as a channel of negotiation and settlement—a course adopted by others of the interested powers. Overtures of the empowered representatives of the Chinese Emperor have been considerably entertained.

Referring to the interoceanic canal the President said:

I commend to the early attention of the Senate the convention with Great Britain to facilitate the construction of such a canal and to remove any objection which might arise out of the convention commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

The President spoke of the splendid commercial and financial conditions of the country, as well as the remarkable record shown in our foreign trade. A reduction of the internal-revenue taxes imposed to meet the expenses of the war with Spain was recommended. Regarding the Philippines the message proceeded as follows:

In my last annual message I dwelt at some length upon the condition of affairs in the Philippines. While seeking to impress upon you that the grave responsibility of the future government of those islands rests with the Congress of the United States, I abstained from recommending at that time a specific and final form of government for the territory actually held by the United States forces, and in which, as long as insurrection continues, the military arm must necessarily be supreme. I stated my purpose, until the Congress shall have made the formal expression of its will, to use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats, placing, to that end, at the disposal of the army and navy all the means which the liberality of the Congress and the people have provided. No contrary expression of the will of the Congress having been made, I have steadfastly pursued the purpose so declared, employing the civil arm as well toward the accomplishment of pacification and the institution of local governments within the lines of authority and law.

Progress in the hoped-for direction has been favorable. Our

forces have successfully controlled the greater part of the islands, overcoming the organized forces of the insurgents and carrying order and administrative regularity to all quarters. What opposition remains is for the most part scattered, obeying no concerted plan of strategic action, operating only by the methods common to the traditions of guerrilla warfare, which, while ineffective to alter the general control now established, are still sufficient to beget insecurity among the populations that have felt the good results of our control and thus delay the conferment upon them of the fuller measures of local self-government, of education, and of industrial and agricultural development which we stand ready to give to them.

By the spring of this year the effective opposition of the dissatisfied Tagals to the authority of the United States was virtually ended, thus opening the door for the extension of a stable administration over much of the territory of the archipelago. Desiring to bring this about, I appointed in March last a civil commission composed of the Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, the Hon. Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, the Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Prof. Bernard Moses of California. The aims of the mission and the scope of their authority are clearly set forth in my instructions of April 7, 1900, addressed to the Secretary of War to be transmitted to them.

The President then quotes his instructions in full, concluding the subject as follows:

Upon all officers and employees of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words:

"This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army."

I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the Government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious

freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States.

The President then called attention to the elections which had been held in Porto Rico and Cuba, and to the convention which had met in Cuba for the purpose of framing and adopting a constitution. The message concludes as follows:

In our great prosperity we must guard against the danger it invites of extravagance in Government expenditures and appropriations; and the chosen representatives of the people will, I doubt not, furnish an example in their legislation of that wise economy which in a season of plenty husbands for the future. In this era of great business activity and opportunity caution is not untimely. It will not abate, but strengthen, confidence. It will not retard, but promote, legitimate industrial and commercial expansion. Our growing power brings with it temptations and perils requiring constant vigilance to avoid. It must not be used to invite conflicts, nor for oppression, but for the more effective maintenance of those principles of equality and justice upon which our institutions and happiness depend. Let us keep always in mind that the foundation of our Government is liberty; its superstructure peace.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Dec. 3, 1900.

A considerable portion of this session of Congress was taken up with a new apportionment bill based upon the last census, and on January 16th it had passed both Houses and was approved by the President. The most important act of the session was undoubtedly the so-called Platt amendment, to the Army Appropriation bill, the text of which is as follows:

Provided further, That in fulfilment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, entitled "For

recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect," the President is hereby authorized to "leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people" so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

I. That the Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

II. That said Government shall not assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

III. That the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba.

IV. That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

V. That the Government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

VI. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

VIII. That by way of further assurance the Government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

Another amendment to the same bill in regard to the government of the Philippines was passed, the text of which is as follows:

All military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaties concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, and at Washington on the 7th day of November, 1900, shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion: *Provided*, That all franchises granted under the authority hereof shall contain a reservation of the right to alter, amend, or repeal the same.

Until a permanent government shall have been established in said archipelago full reports shall be made to Congress on or before the first day of each regular session of all legislative acts and proceedings of the temporary government instituted under the provisions hereof; and full reports of the acts and doings of said government, and as to the condition of the archipelago and of its people, shall be made to the President, including all information which may be useful to the Congress in providing for a more permanent government: *Provided*, That no sale or lease or other disposition of the public lands or the timber thereon or the mining rights therein shall be made: *And provided further*, That no franchise shall be granted which is not approved by the President of the United States, and is not in his judgment clearly necessary for the immediate government

of the islands and indispensable for the interests of the people thereof, and which cannot, without great public mischief, be postponed until the establishment of permanent civil government; and all such franchises shall terminate one year after the establishment of such permanent civil government.

A measure to amend the act "to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures and for other purposes," passed June 18, 1898, and for the reduction of the taxation imposed under that act, was reported early in the session by Mr. Payne of New York, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. The bill passed the House of Representatives on December 15, 1900, and a substitute passed the Senate February 6, 1901. A conference report was adopted February 28th, retaining for the most part the form of the original House bill. It was expected that the reduction would amount to some \$30,000,000 a year. The army bill was vigorously debated, the subject of the army canteen provoking more or less acrimonious discussion. It was considered by two conference committees, and a second report was agreed to and approved by the President March 2, 1901.

Mr. McKinley was inaugurated on March 4, 1901, with the usual display, making no change in his Cabinet, although Attorney-General Griggs soon after resigned and was succeeded by Philander Knox of Pennsylvania. The President, accompanied by Mrs. McKinley, the Cabinet and other officials, started on April 29th for a trip to the Pacific coast by way of New Orleans. Speaking at Memphis, Tennessee, the President said:

What a mighty, resistless power for good is a united nation of free men! It makes for peace and prestige, for progress and liberty. It conserves the rights of the people and strengthens the pillars of the Government, and is a fulfilment of that more perfect union for which our Revolutionary fathers strove, and for which the Constitution was made. No citizen of the republic rejoices more than I do at this happy state, and none will do more within his sphere to continue and strengthen it. Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the

future. We leave the old century behind us, holding on to its achievements and cherishing its memories, and turn with hope to the new, with its opportunities and obligations. These we must meet, men of the South, men of the North, with high purpose and resolution. Without internal troubles to distract us or jealousies to disturb our judgment, we will solve the problems which confront us untrammelled by the past, and wisely and courageously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious than the past.

The President had expected to return by way of Buffalo and be present at the opening ceremonies of the Pan-American exhibition at that city. Mrs. McKinley's illness in San Francisco, however, changed the entire plans for the trip, and the party returned hastily to Washington. Soon after, the President and his wife went to their home in Canton, Ohio, to spend the summer months. It was arranged that the President should visit the Pan-American exhibition at Buffalo in the fall, and September 4th was finally fixed upon as the date. The President and Mrs. McKinley arrived in Buffalo on that day and were received with great demonstrations from the immense throngs present at the exhibition. Both the President and his wife were in good spirits and seemed to be in excellent health, and enjoyed very much the scenes attendant upon the occasion. On Friday, September 6th, the President and Mrs. McKinley, with the Cabinet, visited Niagara Falls, returning to the exhibition early in the afternoon, where it had been arranged that the President would hold a public reception and address the assembly.

Fully twenty thousand people had gathered to see and hear the chief magistrate, and, accompanied by President Milburn of the exhibition and Secretary Cortelyou, the President entered the Temple of Music and began at once to shake hands with the throngs that rapidly passed by for this purpose. Before many had passed, a man approached, to whom the President offered his hand, but instead of grasping it the man raised his right hand, which had seemingly been bandaged with a handkerchief, and before any attempt to thwart his purpose could be made, he fired two bullets into the body of

the President. The name of the assassin was soon found to be Leon F. Czolgosz, an anarchist. He had attempted to fire a third shot, but was seized by the detectives and borne away, narrowly escaping being torn to pieces by the indignant crowd. The President's first thought was for Mrs. McKinley, and he asked his secretary to break the news to her gently. His next thought was for his assailant, and, fearing that he would be killed before him, he raised his hand and said, "Let no one hurt him."

The whole country watched and waited with breathless interest for the bulletins of the following few days. It was first thought that the President might recover, and Vice-President Roosevelt, who had been called to the city, had departed in full confidence that the President would not die. On Friday, however, September 13th, the country was again startled by the news that the President was sinking, and that there was little, if any, hope for his recovery. He died at 2.15 Saturday morning, saying: "Good-bye all, good-bye; it's God's way; His will be done."

A special train bore Vice-President Roosevelt to Buffalo, which he reached at two o'clock Saturday, some ten hours after the death of the President. After a brief call upon Mrs. McKinley, he took the oath of office, which was administered to him by Judge Hazen. After taking the oath he said:

I wish to say that it shall be my aim to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and the honor of our beloved country.

After accompanying the funeral cortège to Washington and attending the ceremonies afterwards at Canton, President Roosevelt returned to Washington and took up the duties of his office.

The Fifty-seventh Congress met for its first session Monday, December 2, 1901. The Senate contained 56 Republicans, 29 Democrats, 1 Populist, 1 Independent, and 1 Fusionist. William P. Frye of Maine was chosen president *pro tempore*. The House of Representatives contained 198 Republicans, 153 Democrats, and 4 Populists. It was organized by the election

of David B. Henderson of Iowa Speaker by a vote of 192 to 152 cast for John D. Richardson of Tennessee. President Roosevelt's annual message first called attention to the great calamity which had overtaken the country in the death of William McKinley. He said:

It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States; while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his close associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all-important in the make-up of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends, inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged. . . .

When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehension and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

The President then referred to the great industrial development of the country, to the creation of large corporations and

industrial consolidations, and to the necessity for publicity regarding the workings of these combinations. Speaking of the necessity for a restoration of the American merchant marine the President said :

The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It is discreditable to us as a nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products, and would provide an auxiliary force for the navy. Ships work for their own countries just as railroads work for their terminal points. Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing-vessels and steamers alike, cargo carriers of slow speed and mail-carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals.

Our Government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean.

Considerable attention is given to the matter of irrigation, after which the message considers the conditions in Hawaii,

the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico at great length. After advocating the continuous upbuilding of our navy the President said :

Probably no other great nation in the world is so anxious for peace as we are. There is not a single civilized power which has anything whatever to fear from aggressiveness on our part. All we want is peace; and toward this end we wish to be able to secure the same respect for our rights from others which we are eager and anxious to extend to their rights in return, to insure fair treatment to us commercially, and to guarantee safety to the American people.

Our people intend to abide by the Monroe doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western Hemisphere. The navy offers us the only means of making our insistence upon the Monroe doctrine anything but a subject of derision to whatever nation chooses to disregard it. We desire the peace which comes as of right to the just man armed; not the peace granted on terms of ignominy to the craven and the weakling.

A general review of the condition and progress of naval construction, as well as the condition of the army, was gone into, and attention was called to the improved conditions in all departments. The President concluded his message as follows :

The death of Queen Victoria caused the people of the United States deep and heartfelt sorrow, to which the Government gave full expression. When President McKinley died, our nation in turn received from every quarter of the British Empire expressions of grief and sympathy no less sincere. The death of the Empress-Dowager Frederick of Germany also aroused the genuine sympathy of the American people; and this sympathy was cordially reciprocated by Germany when the President was assassinated. Indeed, from every quarter of the civilized world we received, at the time of the President's death, assurances of such grief and regard as to touch the hearts of our people. In the midst of our affliction we reverently thank the Almighty that we are at peace with the nations of mankind; and we firmly intend that our policy shall be such as to continue unbroken these international relations of mutual respect and good-will.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Dec. 3, 1901.

In the House of Representatives the consideration of a measure "temporarily to provide revenue for the Philippine Islands and for other purposes" was at once taken up. A bill was passed by a vote of 167 to 128, 57 not voting. The measure was reported to the Senate, with amendments, January 20, 1902, and after a lengthy debate was amended and passed by a vote of 45 to 26, 17 not voting. The House non-concurred in the amendments of the Senate, when a conference committee was appointed, and its report was adopted and approved by the President March 8, 1902.

A further repeal of the war-revenue taxation was taken up in the House of Representatives and passed by a vote of 288 yeas, there being no nays. The bill was amended in the Senate and went to a conference committee, whose report was adopted, and the President approved of the measure April 12, 1902.

On March 1st the Senate passed without division an act "appropriating the receipts from the sale and disposal of the public lands in certain States and Territories to the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands." The measure was taken up in the House of Representatives June 12th, and was passed by a vote of 146 to 55, 132 not voting. The bill was approved by the President June 7, 1902.

A measure providing for a permanent census office was passed at this session, as was also a bill regulating the sale of oleomargarine and dairy products. A heated discussion arose not only in Congress, but in the press of the country over the matter of reciprocity with Cuba. A special message was sent to Congress on the subject, but the bill was abandoned, and the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty was determined on.

On January 9, 1902, Governor Shaw of Iowa was appointed Secretary of the Treasury to succeed Secretary Gage, resigned. On the same day Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin was appointed Postmaster-General to succeed Charles Emory Smith, resigned. On April 29th William H. Moody of Massachusetts succeeded John D. Long as Secretary of the Navy. On December 8, 1902, Oliver Wendell Holmes of Massachusetts was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in place of Horace Gray, deceased.

The second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress opened December 2, 1902. The President began his message as follows:

We still continue in a period of unbounded prosperity. This prosperity is not the creature of law, but undoubtedly the laws under which we work have been instrumental in creating the conditions which made it possible, and by unwise legislation it would be easy enough to destroy it. There will undoubtedly be periods of depression. The wave will recede; but the tide will advance. This Nation is seated on a continent flanked by two great oceans. It is composed of men the descendants of pioneers, or, in a sense, pioneers themselves; of men winnowed out from among the nations of the Old World by the energy, boldness, and love of adventure found in their own eager hearts. Such a nation, so placed, will surely wrest success from fortune. . . .

No country has ever occupied a higher plane of material well-being than ours at the present moment. This well-being is due to no sudden or accidental causes, but to the play of the economic forces in this country for over a century; to our laws, our sustained and continuous policies; above all, to the high individual average of our citizenship. Great fortunes have been won by those who have taken the lead in this phenomenal industrial development, and most of these fortunes have been won not by doing evil, but as an incident to action which has benefited the community as a whole. Never before has material well-being been so widely diffused among our people. Great fortunes have been accumulated, and yet in the aggregate these fortunes are small indeed when compared to the wealth of the people as a whole. The plain people are better off than they have ever been before. The insurance companies, which are practically mutual benefit societies—especially helpful to men of moderate means—represent accumulations of capital which are among the largest in this country. There are more deposits in the savings banks, more owners of farms, more well-paid wage-workers in this country now than ever before in our history. Of course, when the conditions have favored the growth of so much that was good, they have also favored somewhat the growth of what was evil. It is eminently necessary that we should endeavor to cut out this evil, but let us keep a due sense of proportion; let us not in fixing our gaze upon the lesser evil forget the great good. The evils are

real and some of them are menacing, but they are the outgrowth, not of misery or decadence, but of prosperity—of the progress of our gigantic industrial development. This industrial development must not be checked, but side by side with it should go such progressive regulation as will diminish the evils. We should fail in our duty if we did not try to remedy the evils, but we shall succeed only if we proceed patiently, with practical common sense as well as resolution, separating the good from the bad and holding on to the former while endeavoring to get rid of the latter.

Regarding a remedy for some of the apparent evils the President said :

One proposition advocated has been the reduction of the Tariff as a means of reaching the evils of the trusts which fall within the category I have described. Not merely would this be wholly ineffective, but the diversion of our efforts in such a direction would mean the abandonment of all intelligent attempt to do away with these evils. Many of the largest corporations, many of those which should certainly be included in any proper scheme of regulation, would not be affected in the slightest degree by a change in the Tariff, save as such change interfered with the general prosperity of the country. The only relation of the Tariff to big corporations as a whole is that the Tariff makes manufactures profitable, and the Tariff remedy proposed would be in effect simply to make manufactures unprofitable. To remove the Tariff as a punitive measure directed against trusts would inevitably result in ruin to the weaker competitors who are struggling against them. Our aim should be not by unwise Tariff changes to give foreign products the advantage over domestic products, but by proper regulation to give domestic competition a fair chance; and this end cannot be reached by any Tariff changes which would affect unfavorably all domestic competitors, good and bad alike. The question of regulation of the trusts stands apart from the question of Tariff revision.

The President then stated that he should submit to the Senate a reciprocity treaty with Cuba. The matter of the Isthmian Canal was gone into, a Pacific cable to the Philippines by way of Hawaii, the condition of the affairs in the Philippines, the status of the army and navy, the increased revenues of the Post-Office Department, the necessity for a still further

extension of the rural free-delivery routes, irrigation, the Indians, agriculture, and the District of Columbia.

Among the bills passed at this session of Congress was a measure creating the new Department of Commerce and Labor, its head being a Cabinet officer. Upon the approval of the measure by the President, George B. Cortelyou, the President's private secretary, who had also been the private secretary of President McKinley, was appointed Secretary of the new Department. His nomination was at once confirmed, and his selection met the approval of the whole country without regard to party. Mr. Cortelyou, not only in his confidential relations with both Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, but also in those trying days at Buffalo and at other times, had shown himself to be a man of most superior tact, of untiring energy, and of diplomacy and judgment of the highest order.

The elections of 1903 showed in the victories of the Republican party the continued approval of the President and of the principles of the party in general. Particular interest centred in the conflict in Ohio, where, in addition to the election of a governor, the contest was also made over the successor to Senator Hanna, to be chosen by the next legislature. The majorities given to the Republican ticket were almost unprecedented, and the result assured the selection of Senator Hanna to succeed himself, Myron T. Herrick being elected Governor over Thomas L. Johnson. The congressional elections, as well as the election of State legislatures, showed that the entire Government would be in the hands of the Republicans till the presidential inauguration of 1905, so that the party would round out its fiftieth anniversary in possession of all branches of the Government.

Congress was called to meet in extra session on November 9, 1903, and on the following day the President's message was read to both Houses as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I have convened the Congress that it may consider the legislation necessary to put in operation the commercial treaty with Cuba, which was ratified by the Senate at its last session, and subsequently by the Cuban Government. I deem such legislation to be demanded not only by our

interest, but by our honor. We cannot with propriety abandon the course upon which we have so wisely embarked. When the acceptance of the Platt Amendment was required from Cuba by the action of the Congress of the United States, this Government thereby definitely committed itself to the policy of treating Cuba as occupying a unique position as regards this country. It was provided that when the island became a free and independent republic she should stand in such close relations with us as in certain respects to come within our system of international policy, and it necessarily followed that she must also to a certain degree become included within the lines of our economic policy. Situated as Cuba is, it would not be possible for this country to permit the strategic abuse of the island by any foreign military power. It is for this reason that certain limitations have been imposed upon her financial policy, and that naval stations have been conceded by her to the United States. The negotiations as to the details of these naval stations are on the eve of completion. They are so situated as to prevent any idea that there is the intention ever to use them against Cuba, or otherwise than for the protection of Cuba from the assaults of foreign foes, and for the better safeguarding of American interests in the waters south of us.

These interests have been largely increased by the consequences of the war with Spain, and will be still further increased by the building of the Isthmian canal. They are both military and economic. The granting to us by Cuba of the naval stations above alluded to is of the utmost importance from a military standpoint, and is proof of the good faith with which Cuba is treating us. Cuba has made great progress since her independence was established. She has advanced steadily in every way. She already stands high among her sister republics of the new world. She is loyally observing her obligations to us, and she is entitled to like treatment by us.

The treaty submitted to you for approval secures to the United States economic advantages as great as those given to Cuba. Not an American interest is sacrificed. By the treaty a large Cuban market is secured to our producers. It is a market which lies at our doors, which is already large, which is capable of great expansion, and which is especially important to the development of our export trade. It would be indeed shortsighted for us to refuse to take advantage of such an opportunity, and to force Cuba into making arrangements with other countries to our disadvantage.

This reciprocity treaty stands by itself. It is demanded on considerations of broad national policy as well as by our economic interest. It will do harm to no industry. It will benefit many industries. It is in the interest of our people as a whole, both because of its importance from the broad standpoint of international policy and because economically it intimately concerns us to develop and secure the rich Cuban market for our farmers, artisans, merchants, and manufacturers. Finally, it is desirable as a guaranty of the good faith of our nation toward her young sister republic to the south, whose welfare must ever be closely bound with ours. We gave her liberty. We are knit to her by the memories of the blood and the courage of our soldiers who fought for her in war; by the memories of the wisdom and integrity of our administrators who served her in peace, and who started her so well on the difficult path of self-government. We must help her onward and upward, and in helping her we shall help ourselves.

The foregoing considerations caused the negotiation of the treaty with Cuba and its ratification by the Senate. They now with equal force support the legislation by the Congress which by the terms of the treaty is necessary to render it operative. A failure to enact such legislation would come perilously near a repudiation of the pledged faith of the nation.

I transmit herewith the treaty as amended by the Senate and ratified by the Cuban Government.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

WHITE HOUSE, November 10, 1903.

The bill was at once taken up in the House and passed on November 19th by a vote of 335 to 21. The bill was reported in the Senate at once but it was not acted upon until December 16th, during the regular session, when it was passed by a vote of 57 to 18. Although this bill reached the President with but comparatively few votes recorded against it in either the Senate or House, still there had been more vigorous opposition to it than to any bill for a number of years. For considerably over a year the whole question of reciprocity in connection with the bill had been debated not only in both Houses of Congress, but in the press, and particularly the Republican papers of the country.

The entire agricultural press was against the bill and the

principles which it involved, claiming that many agricultural interests would be injured by its operation. Particularly had the beet-sugar interests protested, and the members of Congress from California and from Michigan had made strong speeches against the proposed legislation. The American Protective Tariff League from the first announced its opposition to the bill, and worked most strenuously for its defeat, as did also the Home Market Club of Boston and the American Iron and Steel Association of Philadelphia, through its organ, the *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association*.

The Republican press in general was divided in its concern for the agricultural interests of the country and for the redemption of pledges made to Cuba. On the one hand it was contended that the beet-sugar industry would be endangered, if not entirely ruined, and the same was predicted of the cane-sugar industry of Louisiana. It was felt, also, that the tobacco and fruit industries would be injured, as well as all domestic products which came into competition with the products of Cuba. On the other hand it was contended by the President and the supporters of the bill that it was our "plain duty" to grant this concession to Cuba, and that it would result in injury to no American industry, but, on the contrary, would give us such increased sales as to overcome fully the concessions made to that island.

Many of those who voted for the bill on its final passage did so after explaining that their votes were contrary to their judgment. It was felt by Protectionists that the principle of reciprocity in competitive productions, which is entirely contrary to the principles of a Protective Tariff, was endorsed, and that the bill would not only be injurious in itself, but would be the opening wedge to be followed by many other reciprocity measures of similar character with Canada and other countries. The President, however, had said in his message that "this reciprocity treaty stands by itself," and assurances were given that no further breaks would be made in the Protective wall by other reciprocity treaties in competitive productions.

The first regular session of the Fifty-eighth Congress opened

on December 7, 1903. The President in his message first referred to the successful establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the influence that the operations of the Department would have upon the important industrial questions before the country. The President then called attention to the receipts and expenditures, and to the fact that the large surplus of several years would be largely reduced. Referring to the merchant marine the President said:

A majority of our people desire that steps be taken in the interests of American shipping, so that we may once more resume our former position in the ocean-carrying trade. But hitherto the differences of opinion as to the proper method of reaching this end have been so wide that it has proved impossible to secure the adoption of any particular scheme. Having in view these facts, I recommend that the Congress direct the secretary of the navy, the postmaster-general, and the secretary of commerce and labor, associated with such a representation from the Senate and House of Representatives as the Congress in its wisdom may designate, to serve as a commission for the purpose of investigating and reporting to the Congress at its next session what legislation is desirable or necessary for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce, and incidentally of a national ocean mail service, of adequate auxiliary naval cruisers and naval reserves. While such a measure is desirable in any event, it is especially desirable at this time, in view of the fact that our present governmental contract for ocean mail with the American Line will expire in 1905. Our ocean mail act was passed in 1891. In 1895 our 20-knot transatlantic mail line was equal to any foreign line. Since then the Germans have put on 23-knot steamers, and the British have contracted for 24-knot steamers. Our service should equal the best. If it does not, the commercial public will abandon it. If we are to stay in the business it ought to be with a full understanding of the advantages to the country on one hand, and on the other with exact knowledge of the cost and proper methods of carrying it on. Moreover, lines of cargo ships are of even more importance than fast mail lines; save so far as the latter can be depended upon to furnish swift auxiliary cruisers in time of war. The establishment of new lines of cargo ships to South America, to Asia and elsewhere, would be much in the interest of our commercial expansion.

The questions of immigration, naturalization, and interstate commerce laws were then gone into. Referring to the postal frauds, which had been thoroughly investigated by the Post-Office Department during the year, the President said:

The laws relating to the proper conduct of the public service in general and to the due administration of the post-office department, have been notoriously violated, and many indictments have been found, and the consequent prosecutions are in course of hearing or on the eve thereof. For the reasons thus indicated, and so that the government may be prepared to enforce promptly and with the greatest effect the due penalties for such violations of law, and to this end may be furnished with sufficient instrumentalities and competent legal assistance for the investigations and trials which will be necessary at many different points of the country, I urge upon the Congress the necessity of making the said appropriation available for immediate use for all such purposes, to be expended under the direction of the attorney-general.

The successful and satisfactory determination of the dispute over the Alaskan boundary was reviewed as follows:

After unavailing attempts to reach an understanding through a joint high commission, followed by prolonged negotiations, conducted in an amicable spirit, a convention between the United States and Great Britain was signed, January 24, 1903, providing for an examination of the subject by a mixed tribunal of six members, three on a side, with a view to its final disposition. Ratifications were exchanged on March 3 last, whereupon the two governments appointed their respective members. Those on behalf of the United States, were Elihu Root, secretary of war, Henry Cabot Lodge, a Senator of the United States, and George Turner, an ex-Senator of the United States, while Great Britain named the Right Honorable Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Louis Amable Jette, K.C.M.G., retired judge of the supreme court of Quebec, and A. B. Aylesworth, K. C., of Toronto. This tribunal met in London on September 3, under the presidency of Lord Alverstone. The proceedings were expeditious, and marked by a friendly and conscientious spirit. The respective cases, counter cases, and arguments presented the issues clearly and fully.

On the 20th of October a majority of the tribunal reached and

signed an agreement on all the questions submitted by the terms of the convention. By this award the right of the United States to the control of a continuous strip or border of the mainland shore, skirting all the tide-water inlets and sinuosities of the coast, is confirmed; the entrance to Portland canal (concerning which legitimate doubt appeared) is defined as passing by Tongass inlet and to the northwestward of Wales and Pearse islands; a line is drawn from the head of Portland canal to the 56th degree of north latitude; and the interior border line of the strip is fixed by lines connecting certain mountain summits lying between Portland canal and Mt. St. Elias, and running along the crest of the divide separating the coast slope from the inland watershed at the only part of the frontier where the drainage ridge approaches the coast within the distance of 10 marine leagues stipulated by the treaty as the extreme width of the strip around the head of Lynn canal and its branches.

While the line so traced follows the provisional demarcation of 1878 at the crossing of the Stikine river, and that of 1899 at the summits of the White and Chilkoot passes, it runs much further inland from the Klehini than the temporary line of the later *modus vivendi*, and leaves the entire mining district of the Porcupine river and Glacier creek within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The result is satisfactory in every way. It is of great material advantage to our people in the far Northwest. It has removed from the field of discussion and possible danger a question liable to become more acutely accentuated with each passing year. Finally, it has furnished a signal proof of the fairness and good-will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty and by their nature incapable of submission to a third power for adjudication.

Concerning the Philippines and Porto Rico the President said:

Of our insular possessions, the Philippines and Porto Rico, it is gratifying to say that their steady progress has been such as to make it unnecessary to spend much time in discussing them. Yet the Congress should ever keep in mind that a peculiar obligation rests upon us to further in every way the welfare of these communities. The Philippines should be knit closer to us by Tariff arrangements. It would, of course, be impossible suddenly to raise the people of

the islands to the high pitch of industrial prosperity and of governmental efficiency to which they will in the end by degrees attain; and the caution and moderation shown in developing them have been among the main reasons why this development has hitherto gone on so smoothly. Scrupulous care has been taken in the choice of governmental agents, and the entire elimination of partisan politics from the public service. The condition of the islanders is in material things far better than ever before, while their governmental, intellectual, and moral advance has kept pace with their material advance. No one people ever benefited another people more than we have benefited the Filipinos by taking possession of the islands.

A considerable part of the message was devoted to an exposition of the situation regarding the revolution of Panama and the various movements in connection with the Isthmian Canal. This subject will be taken up in the following chapter.

On February 1, 1904, William H. Taft of Ohio, who had been Civil Governor of the Philippines, succeeded Elihu Root as Secretary of War. Mr. Root not only retired from his position with the highest esteem of the President and fellow-members of the Cabinet, but with the universally acknowledged verdict of the American people that he had made one of the best Secretaries of War in the history of our Government. He had been a tower of strength under the administrations of both McKinley and Roosevelt, and had done much in the lifting of our army and the lifting of the very country itself to the high position now occupied among the nations of the world. Luke E. Wright succeeded Mr. Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippines.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION—THE ISTHMIAN CANAL—THE SAME GRAND OLD PARTY—CONCLUSIONS.

THERE has been a considerable amount of legislation by the Republican party which has been of such a constructive and progressive character as to admit of only an occasional allusion in the preceding chapters. There have been policies and measures which it has taken many years to perfect, and many different Congresses to consider and bring to completion. Laws have from time to time been amended or revised to conform to new conditions, as, for instance, our pension laws, the Chinese Exclusion act, the various postal laws, particularly the recent measures perfecting rural free delivery, our immigration laws, and those leading to the construction of the Isthmian Canal.

Soon after the discovery of gold in California a considerable number of Chinese emigrants came to California, and their rapid increase in numbers aroused the opposition of the Pacific States to the effect that local legislation, which proved for the most part inoperative, was followed by an attempt at national legislation. In 1861 Anson Burlingame was appointed Minister to China, where he remained till 1867, at which time he was appointed by China as a special ambassador to negotiate treaties for that nation. Among other treaties which were concluded was one between the United States and China of date of July 28, 1868. In this treaty China first gave her adherence to international law. It was stipulated that joint efforts were to be made against the coolie trade; and liberty of conscience and worship and rights of residence and travel, as accorded to

the most favored nation, were guaranteed to Chinese in America and Americans in China. The cry of "The Chinese must go" became, however, more and more pronounced, and Congress was appealed to to afford some relief to the Pacific coast from the swarms of Mongolians flocking to that shore. In 1879 a bill passed both Houses of Congress limiting the number of Chinese passengers who could be brought to the United States by any one vessel. President Hayes vetoed this bill, which led to a new treaty being made, giving us the privilege of suspending but not absolutely prohibiting the coming of Chinamen to our country. In accordance with the provisions of this new treaty an act was passed in 1882, and amended in 1884, which suspended the immigration of Chinese to this country for ten years, but provided that those already here, who wished to revisit their own country and return again, might do so upon certificates of residence to be obtained from certain officials before their departure and presented upon their return. President Arthur vetoed this bill, and it failed to pass over his veto. Subsequently, however, a modified bill passed both Houses and was approved by the President. This, however, resulted in a circumventing of the law, and a new law was passed in 1888 which forbade the issuance of such certificates, and declared void those outstanding. In 1892, as the Exclusion act of 1882 was about to expire, Congress passed an act known as the Geary law, extending all prior exclusion laws for a further period of ten years, and providing for other regulations regarding such Chinamen as could be admitted. In 1902 a so-called Chinese Exclusion bill passed both Houses, and after being modified somewhat by a conference committee was accepted and approved by the President April 29th.

In March, 1888, a resolution was passed by the Senate asking the President to negotiate a treaty with China providing that no Chinese laborer should enter the United States. The treaty was negotiated and transmitted to the Senate, where it was somewhat amended and was then approved. It was rumored, however, in September of the same year, that the Chinese authorities had refused to ratify the treaty, and a bill

was presented in the House of Representatives supplementing the Act of 1882. The measure was passed without division and sent to the Senate, where it was passed by a vote of thirty-seven to three. It was not, however, sent to the President till the news came that the Chinese Government had refused to ratify the treaty. The President signed the measure October 1st.

The legislation of the Republican party regarding Chinese exclusion seems to have been wise and consistent. While our immigration laws have upon the whole been most liberal, yet it seemed best to shut our doors as far as possible against a race undesirable as workmen and unacceptable as citizens. There has been no desire, however, to break any treaty stipulations, but to conform to the letter to any agreement made with China as with any other nation. The question has been a difficult and a delicate one, and while it cannot be said to have been wholly a party act, as both parties have been in harmony upon general exclusion, yet it was the Republican party which passed the first exclusion act, as well as the last, and which should have the credit of the wisdom of such legislation.

Over twenty million emigrants have come to our country, a large portion of whom are now citizens of the United States, enjoying the advantages of constant employment, good wages, and a far higher standard of living than is known abroad. These emigrants have helped to build up our country, have helped in the development of our resources, in production and in consumption. We find the men in every walk of life, from the United States Senate down to the most humble rank. While it is true that among these many millions of foreigners can be found some objectionable characters, and some hundreds or even thousands of whom we would rather had not been admitted, yet our immigration laws, though most liberal, have been for the most part just. If they need amendment, they will receive it in due time after due consideration by a Republican Congress, which will be fair to all concerned.

In former pages the institution and development of our pension laws have been gone into more or less at length. It

is hardly necessary to associate these laws with Republican Congresses, and credit them for the most part to the Republican party. Presidents Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, and McKinley never refused their signature to a single pension bill. President Grant during the eight years of his administration withheld his signature but five times. Grover Cleveland, the only Democratic President since the war, during his two administrations vetoed 524 pension bills. A careful examination of the *Congressional Record* since the Civil War reveals the following votes on fourteen important pension measures introduced and voted on by Congress:

Democrats for the bills,	417
Democrats against the bills,	648
Republicans for the bills,	1,068
Republicans against the bills,	None

Not only did President Cleveland feel it his duty to veto hundreds of pension bills, but he also felt it to be a privilege if not a duty to accompany his vetoes with sneering and insulting observations, wholly uncalled for, if not unjust and untrue.

In the disbursement of over three billion dollars, it is quite likely that a small percentage may have reached undeserving hands. It has seemed, however, to the Republican party better that perhaps one recipient in a hundred or a thousand should be unworthy than that the other ninety-nine or 999 who deserved fair treatment from their country should not receive it. The Republican party has no apology whatever to make for its liberal treatment of those who gave their services for the Union, and of the survivors of those who gave their lives for the preservation of a united country.

The progress made in our postal service, the immense advantage given to our commercial interests, and the convenience and accommodations extended to individuals have kept pace fully with the rapid expansion of all public utilities, and the Republican party has from time to time, as conditions warranted it, not only extended the benefits of the service itself, but has reduced rates of postage as rapidly as could be done consistent with the revenue derived from the operation of the

system. While it has been the aim of the Department and of Congress to have the revenues of this service approximate the expenditures, yet this has not been absolutely insisted upon, and not since 1865 have the revenues equalled the expenditures, the deficit for the last few years averaging about four million dollars. From the first Act of February 20, 1792, when the rates of postage on domestic letters ranged from six cents to twenty-five cents, according to the distance carried, the rates were successively reduced from time to time until 1863, when a uniform rate of three cents per letter was established not exceeding half an ounce in weight and without regard to distance. The free-delivery system was authorized by the Act of 1863, as also was the system of collecting mail matter from the street boxes. The money-order system was first established in 1864. On October 1, 1883, the general rate for letters was reduced to two cents, the only reduction since being a rate of two cents per ounce for first-class matter instead of two cents per half ounce. The special-delivery system was authorized by act of Congress March 3, 1885. The development of the postal service as regards both transportation and delivery increased so amazingly as to warrant the establishing of the rural free-delivery system. The attempt was first made during the administration of President Cleveland. Postmaster-General Bissell, in his report for 1893, concurred in the opinion of the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Frank H. Jones, that "the Department would not be warranted in burdening the people with such a great expense." In his report of 1894 Postmaster-General Bissell declined to expend the small appropriation of \$10,000 to test the feasibility of the scheme. In 1895 Congress increased the appropriation to \$20,000, but Postmaster-General William L. Wilson declared that the plan of establishing rural free delivery was wholly impracticable. In 1896 Congress made \$40,000 available for the purpose, and Postmaster-General Wilson, as the Post-Office Department reported it, "with many expressed misgivings," put the service to the test, saying that he had taken care "to choose territory widely divergent in physical features, and in the occupation and density of its population." Under the administration of

President McKinley, and his most efficient Postmaster-General, Charles Emory Smith, the system was rapidly developed and has continued increasing under the administration of President Roosevelt and Postmaster-General Payne.

As has been mentioned, the appropriation made in 1897 was \$40,000, and during that year forty-four services were put into operation. The appropriation for 1904 was \$12,921,700, and the services in operation number fully ten thousand, while the estimate of the department for 1905 is \$15,825,900.

Nothing so well illustrates, perhaps, the character of the two predominant parties in the United States as does the development of this rural free-delivery system. Year after year it was "turned down" by a Democratic administration as being impracticable, and yet under the operation of Republican administrations it has developed in every way successfully and most advantageously to the agriculturists of the country. Where only a few years ago most of our farmers were able to get their mail but once or twice a week, it is now daily brought to their very doors, giving them the advantage of the daily paper and of market and weather reports, enhancing not only labor, but the pleasure of living.

The system itself needs no defence; the result of its workings is its own vindication, and the farmers of the country are indebted wholly to the Republican party, which had the courage as well as the sense to put the system into practical operation and constant development.

Although the credit for the system must be given to the Republican administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt, yet it is only fair to go back to the administration of Harrison, whose Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, recommended to Congress that an appropriation be made for experimental village free-delivery service. The plan worked well, and Postmaster-General Wanamaker was able to report to Congress, after a trial of two years, that the increased cost of the service was met nearly, if not quite, by the increased postal receipts, and that the slight additional expenditure was more than justified by the benefits conferred upon the people. It was Mr. Wanamaker who first recommended the idea, and put it, to a

limited extent, into a successful operation. During the administration of Cleveland its development was thwarted in every way possible, to be taken up again by President McKinley and his Postmaster-General.

The first attempt to annex the Hawaiian Islands can be traced back to the administration of Pierce in 1853-54, when Secretary of State Marcy instructed the Minister to Hawaii, Mr. Gregg, to formulate a treaty to annex the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Nothing, however, came of the treaty, which was not approved by the President when drawn up. The people of the islands themselves, in 1893, set on foot a movement for annexation. A provisional government was formed and a commission sent to Washington, which was authorized to negotiate a treaty. This treaty was agreed upon and was sent to the Senate by President Harrison February 15, 1893, and although favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, no action was taken before the President's term ended, on March 4th. President Cleveland within three days after his inauguration withdrew the treaty and sent James H. Blount as a commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands, and after receiving his report announced his intention to restore Liliuokalani to the throne. When this intention was communicated to the provisional government it was met with such opposition that our Minister did not attempt to carry out President Cleveland's wishes, the opposition of the Hawaiians themselves being accompanied by the utmost indignation throughout the United States. Immediately following the inauguration of President McKinley on March 4, 1897, the Hawaiian commissioners proceeded to Washington with a treaty of annexation, which was sent to the Senate on June 16th. In the following March a joint resolution was reported to the Senate ratifying the cession of the Hawaiian Islands, and annexing them as a part of the territory of the United States. The vote upon this resolution in the House was 209 yeas to 91 nays, and in the Senate 42 yeas to 21 nays. Senator Cullom was then appointed as the chairman of a commission to visit the islands and frame a form of government, and in April, 1900, the matter was consummated by an act which

passed both Houses of Congress, and was approved by the President, extending the Constitution and all laws of the United States over the territory of Hawaii, thereby establishing a territorial government.

This is simply another instance of Republican foresight and wisdom, of Republican courage, and of Republican justice. The value of the islands in the centre of the Pacific are invaluable, not only as a way-station on the commercial line between our Pacific coast and Asiatic territory; as a cable, coaling, and repair station; as a harbor of refuge, but as a market for our products to the extent of many millions of dollars annually. Tutuila, in the Samoan Islands, which came under our control in 1899, during the administration of President McKinley, is also an extremely valuable addition to our possessions, and is another instance of Republican foresight and wisdom.

Nowhere is the beneficent result of Republican legislation more conspicuously seen than in its relation to the so-called laboring classes of our country. It began at the outset by freeing four million slaves and giving them the opportunity to labor, to acquire, and to enjoy the rewards of their own exertions. Coming down through the decades after the war from 1870 to 1880, from 1880 to 1890, and from 1890 to the present time, it has, through its various Tariff laws, given opportunity to the workingmen of the United States such as is enjoyed by the laboring classes of no other country on the face of the globe. It has by its legislation concerning immigration given to millions from foreign lands an equal opportunity for advancement in their standard of living, through high wages and constant employment, increasing our home market, which is the envy of the entire commercial world. This home market has awakened and maintained competition to such an extent in all lines of industry, that our people in large measure have done their own work and reaped the consequent fruits of their toil. There need be no proofs given of the assertion that the working men of the United States are far better off than the laborers of any other country. The statement is unquestioned and universally accepted both at home and abroad. The whole situation can be briefly put in the words of the eminent French

scientist, Professor Émile Levasseur, in his work on *L'Ouvrier Américain*. In summing up the conditions of the American workingmen as compared with those of Europe he says:

Wages in the United States are about double the wages in Europe; objects of ordinary consumption by working people (excepting dwelling houses) cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe; the American workingman lives better than the European: he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed and more often owns his dwelling, spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations, and, in short, has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.

Not only has the Republican party given the workingman the chance to work; not only has it given him the highest wages paid on earth for that work, but it has seen to it that this wage money is paid in dollars of full value, equal in every case to one hundred cents.

The Republican party has gone still farther in its concern for the masses who acquire their living by manual labor: It has passed law after law bettering the conditions under which they labor, and which make for their comfort and health. On February 19, 1862, the coolie trade was prohibited. This law was amended February 9, 1869, and further amended March 3, 1875. Peonage was abolished by an act passed in the Thirty-ninth Congress, March 2, 1867. Republicans were in a large majority in both Houses. An act for the inspection of steam vessels was passed during the Fortieth Congress, when both Houses were Republican. An act for the protection of seamen was passed during the Forty-second Congress, both Houses being under the control of the Republicans. This act was amended during the following Congress, when the Republicans were still in control of both Houses. During the Forty-third Congress involuntary servitude of foreigners was abrogated. On March 9, 1886, though all the votes cast against the bill were Democratic, still a contract-labor law passed the House. On June 2d of the same year a bill passed the Senate without division, and was passed in the House June 11th, incorporating the national trades unions. In the

Forty-ninth Congress a bill was passed for the payment of *per diem* employees for holidays. On March 9, 1886, a bill passed the House, and was afterwards passed in the Senate on February 28, 1887, regarding the labor of United States convicts, when the contract system was prohibited. All the votes cast against the bill were Democratic. A bill constituting boards of arbitration passed the House on April 3, 1886, the thirty votes against the bill all being Democratic. The law limiting letter-carriers to eight hours a day passed in the Senate without division. The Department of Labor was created by a bill which passed the House April 19, 1888, and which passed the Senate May 23, 1888, all the votes cast against the bill being Democratic. A lien contract labor law passed the House during the Fifty-first Congress without division August 30, 1890, and passed the Senate with amendments September 27, 1890.

If it were possible to enumerate the several State laws upon labor conditions, it would be found that about nine-tenths of them had been passed by Republican legislatures in spite of the opposition from the Democratic party. It could easily be shown that the laws creating labor bureaus, the laws compelling factory inspection, the laws establishing an eight-hour day, the law prohibiting the employment of children under certain ages, and the laws regulating woman labor and other conditions, making for the betterment of the working classes, were largely passed in Republican States and by Republican legislatures. The Republican party has made possible the great increase in trades unions, which, in spite of some attendant evils, have gained so much for the workingmen, and to a great extent have bettered their condition and placed the plane of labor in the United States on the highest possible attainable level.

The Democratic party has professed to be the friend of the laboring man, but its professions have been confined for the most part to promises made on the stump during a political campaign, while the Republican party has not only promised but has carried out its promises by substantial performances, sometimes in spite of the most pronounced opposition of the Democratic party.

It may be said that as the Republican party has been to a large extent responsible for the combinations now found among laboring men, it has also been responsible for the combinations found among the industrial and capitalistic classes. Indirectly this may be true. The great opportunities for amassing wealth through manufacturing and construction operations in this country during the past quarter of a century have no doubt aided materially in the vast combinations of capital and the consolidations of industries, most of which have been for the positive good of the country and the people, and a few of which can be numbered among those evils which invariably accompany every human endeavor. If the Republican party, by giving opportunity to both capitalist and workingman, has indirectly contributed towards certain so-called trusts of capital and labor, which seem to be a menace to the welfare of the people at large, it has at the same time done much to regulate these combinations, and has attempted other regulations in which it has been thwarted by the Democratic party. A conspicuous example of this was a measure proposed by the Republicans of the Fifty-sixth Congress. An amendment to the Constitution was introduced by the Republicans as follows:

Article XVI, Section 1. All powers conferred by this article shall extend to the several States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, and all territories under the sovereignty and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to define, regulate, control, prohibit, or dissolve trusts, monopolies, or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise.

The several States may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States.

Sec. 3. Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

This was reported to the House from the Committee on the Judiciary May 21, 1900, and Mr. Richardson, the Democratic leader, objected to its consideration. A rule was reported for the immediate consideration of the resolution, and was adopted by Republican votes, all the Democrats voting against it. On

the vote for the measure itself all the Democrats but one voted against it, and it was lost because of lacking the necessary two-thirds vote of the House to pass a constitutional amendment.

The Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was enacted in 1890 by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President, was sneered at by the Democratic party, and yet under it many evils have been corrected. It has been and will be, however, the policy of the Republican party not to break down our whole industrial structure for the sake of casting out one or two rotten beams. For the most part industrial combinations, whether among manufacturers or farmers, or unions among the workingmen themselves, have resulted in good. The evils that have accompanied them will be eradicated in time, and will be checked or regulated without destruction of either property or opportunity.

It is a matter for regret that the historian cannot chronicle more acts of the Republican party conducive to the upbuilding of our shipping and the American merchant marine. Again and again have our Presidents recommended action in their inaugural and annual messages. Again and again have bills been prepared by committees, and even presented to one or both Houses of Congress, and yet to-day less than ten per cent. of our foreign freight is carried in American bottoms. Whether or no it may be wise to inaugurate a system of subsidies, the American people will have to cease in their fear for that word before we can successfully compete with the other maritime nations of the world. The shipping of every other nation without exception has been built up and maintained through subsidies or governmental assistance. We shall not be able to regain our prestige on the high seas until we adopt a system similar or kindred to that maintained by other nations. The subject is, indeed, a vast one in its many perplexing complications, and yet the principle and policy that must be adopted, if American shipping is to be restored, is a very simple one. It is to be hoped that the commission recommended by the President in his last annual message, and which will no doubt be created by the present Congress, will

formulate some plan by means of which in the near future we may inaugurate a most radical departure in our shipping laws, which may eventually result in the restoration of our merchant marine to a place in keeping with the position of our country among the nations of the earth.

For more than a century not only the people of the United States, but of the whole commercial world, have been looking forward to the time when there would be an Isthmian Canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic with the Pacific. For the purpose of thoroughly understanding the present situation, we need go back no farther than the year 1850, when a treaty was negotiated at Washington by John M. Clayton, Secretary of State under Taylor, and Sir Edward Bulwer, the British Minister to this country. By the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the United States and Great Britain agreed that neither nation would occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume, or exercise any dominion over any part of Central America, nor enter into any alliance with any state or people of Central America for the attainment of these objects. Several times, and particularly in 1882, this Government intimated to Great Britain that a canal project was impracticable because of this treaty, which the United States considered no longer binding, the terms of the treaty being much in dispute.

The end of nearly half a century of debate brought a new policy, which was adopted in 1898, and received the approval of the Fifty-fifth Congress at the close of its session, March 3, 1899, when an act was approved appropriating \$1,000,000 to provide for a complete investigation of all canal routes across the Isthmus of Panama, "with a view to a construction of a canal by the United States." There was a clear indication that the canal when built should be under the complete control of the United States Government. The policy was clearly one of the Republican party, inaugurated under the administration of President McKinley. The President was authorized to "make investigation of any and all practicable routes for a canal across said Isthmus of Panama, and particularly to investigate the two routes known respectively as the Nicaragua route and the Panama route, with a view to determine the

most practicable and feasible route for such canal, together with the proximate and probable cost of constructing a canal by each of two or more said routes." The President was further authorized to investigate into all rights of corporations, associations, or individuals, and to ascertain the cost of purchasing all the rights, privileges, and franchises, as well as the cost of constructing a suitable harbor at each of the termini of said canal, with the probable annual cost of maintenance of said harbors respectively, the general provisions of the act ending with the following words: "placing the same under the control, management, and ownership of the United States." President McKinley then selected a commission to make this investigation, appointing at the head of the commission Rear-Admiral Walker of the Navy, with whom were associated Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald H. Ernst, and Colonel Peter C. Hains of the army, and the civil engineers, George S. Morrison, Alfred Noble, William H. Burr, and Lewis M. Haupt. Ex-Senator Samuel Pasco was appointed the legal member of the commission, and Professor Emory R. Johnson was added as an authority on the industrial and commercial value of an inter-oceanic canal. The commission made a preliminary report to the President on November 30, 1900, a detailed report on December 16, 1901, and a final report on January 18, 1902. All the reports favored the Panama route as being far superior to the Nicaragua route, but showed that the Panama route was owned by the New Panama Company, which was itself engaged in constructing a canal there. The exorbitant price placed upon the property, however, by the Panama Company, gave the commission no choice but to accept the inferior route, the Nicaragua, as the most feasible. On January 4, 1902, the New Panama Canal Company made a definite offer to sell and transfer all its rights, property, and works to the United States for the sum of \$40,000,000, the precise estimate which had been put on the property by the commission.

President Roosevelt now requested the commission to report further in the light of the changed conditions. The commission thereupon met and unanimously recommended

acceptance of the offer, also unanimously deciding that "the most practicable and feasible route for an Isthmian Canal to be under the control, management, and ownership of the United States is that known as the 'Panama route.' " This was immediately submitted by the President to both Houses of Congress on January 18, 1902.

President McKinley, who appreciated the diplomatic barrier to the construction of a canal to be owned and controlled by the United States, had directed the State Department to enter into negotiations with Great Britain for a new treaty, which should modify or abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Secretary Hay earnestly entered upon the task, and was so successful that a new treaty was signed by him and Lord Pauncefoot, the British ambassador, on February 5, 1900. The treaty was not, however, entirely acceptable to Great Britain, and a second convention was signed in Washington by Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefoot on December 2, 1901, and was ratified by the Senate December 16th of the same year by a vote of 72 to 6.

On the first day of the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, December 2, 1901, Representative Hepburn introduced into the House a bill providing for an Isthmian Canal. On January 9th the bill passed by a vote of 308 to 2, but this bill determined upon the Nicaragua route to the disregard of any other. This at once raised a new discussion, and when the bill reached the Senate Mr. Spooner of Wisconsin offered a substitute, recommending the purchase of the Panama Canal and its completion. The Spooner substitute was, after amendment, adopted by the Senate January 19th, and was finally agreed to unanimously by a conference committee of the Senate and House, and was approved by the President June 28, 1902.

By this act the President was authorized by Congress to enter into a treaty with Colombia for the construction of an Isthmian Canal. It was provided that if, after a reasonable time, and upon reasonable terms, the President should be unable to obtain a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company, and the control of the necessary

territory, he should be authorized to inaugurate a canal by the Nicaragua route. A treaty was concluded between the representatives of our Government and of the Republic of Colombia, which was ratified by the Senate. Although this treaty was entered into at the earnest solicitation of the people of Colombia, and with most generous concessions made to that people, nevertheless the Government of Colombia not only repudiated the treaty, but did it in so emphatic a manner, the vote against ratification being unanimous, that all hope was abandoned of ever getting a satisfactory treaty with them.

During the summer, without the firing of a shot or the loss of a life, the people of Panama accomplished a successful revolution and established a republic. The *de facto* Government of Panama was recognized by the United States in the following telegram to Mr. Ehrman:

The people of Panama have, by apparently unanimous movement, dissolved their political connection with the republic of Colombia and resumed their independence. When you are satisfied that a *de facto* government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own people, has been established in the state of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory and look to it for all due action to protect the persons and property of citizens of the United States and to keep open the isthmian transit, in accordance with the obligations of existing treaties governing the relations of the United States to that territory.

At the same time the Government of Colombia was notified of our action by the following telegram to Mr. Beaupré:

The people of Panama having, by an apparently unanimous movement, dissolved their political connection with the republic of Colombia and resumed their independence, and having adopted a government of their own, republican in form, with which the government of the United States of America has entered into relations, the president of the United States, in accordance with the ties of friendship which have so long and so happily existed between the respective nations, most earnestly commends to the governments of Colombia and of Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of

all questions at issue between them. He holds that he is bound not merely by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilization, to see that the peaceful traffic of the world across the isthmus of Panama shall no longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars.

The republic of Panama was subsequently recognized by the other great Powers. Colombia, seeing the mistake which her people had made, at once made overtures to our Government, guaranteeing the ratification of the treaty, providing we would preserve her sovereignty over Panama. It need hardly be said that such overtures were not for a moment considered by our Government.

The new republic of Panama at once offered to negotiate a treaty, which was drawn up and which was more advantageous to this Government than the Hay-Herran treaty with Colombia. The Panama or Hay-Varilla treaty was at once submitted to the Senate, and was followed, on January 4, 1904, with a special Presidential message, portions of which follow:

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I lay before the Congress for its information a statement of my action up to this time in executing the act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," approved June 28, 1902.

By the said act the President was authorized to secure for the United States the property of the Panama Canal Company and the perpetual control of a strip 6 miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama. It was further provided that "should the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia . . . within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President" should endeavor to provide for a canal by the Nicaragua route. The language quoted defines with exactness and precision what was to be done, and what as a matter of fact has been done. The President was authorized to go to the Nicaragua route only if within a reasonable time he could not obtain "control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia." This control has now been obtained; the provision of the act has been complied with; it is no longer

possible under existing legislation to go to the Nicaragua route as an alternative. This act marked the climax of the effort on the part of the United States to secure, so far as legislation was concerned, an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus. . . .

Having these facts in view, there is no shadow of question that the government of the United States proposed a treaty which was not merely just, but generous to Colombia, which our people regarded as erring, if at all, on the side of over-generosity; which was hailed with delight by the people of the immediate locality through which the canal was to pass, who were most concerned as to the new order of things, and which the Colombian authorities now recognize as being so good that they are willing to promise its unconditional ratification if only we will desert those who have shown themselves our friends and restore to those who have shown themselves unfriendly the power to undo what they did. I pass by the question as to what assurance we have that they would now keep their pledge and not again refuse to ratify the treaty if they had the power; for, of course, I will not for one moment discuss the possibility of the United States committing an act of such baseness as to abandon the new republic of Panama. . . .

It was the opinion of eminent international jurists that in view of the fact that the great design of our guarantee under the treaty of 1846 was to dedicate the Isthmus to the purposes of interoceanic transit, and above all to secure the construction of an interoceanic canal, Colombia could not under existing conditions refuse to enter into a proper arrangement with the United States to that end, without violating the spirit and substantially repudiating the obligations of a treaty the full benefits of which she had enjoyed for over 50 years. My intention was to consult the Congress as to whether under such circumstances it would not be proper to announce that the canal was to be dug forthwith; that we would give the terms that we had offered and no others; and that if such terms were not agreed to we would enter into an arrangement with Panama direct, or take what other steps were needful in order to begin the enterprise.

A third possibility was that the people of the Isthmus, who had formerly constituted an independent state, and who until recently were united to Colombia only by a loose tie of federal relationship, might take the protection of their own vital interests into their hands, reassert their former rights, declare their independence upon

just grounds, and establish a government competent and willing to do its share in this great work for civilization. This third possibility is what actually occurred.

Every one knew that it was a possibility, but it was not until toward the end of October that it appeared to be an imminent probability. Although the administration, of course, had special means of knowledge, no such means were necessary in order to appreciate the possibility, and toward the end the likelihood, of such a revolutionary outbreak and of its success. It was a matter of common notoriety. Quotations from the daily papers could be indefinitely multiplied to show this state of affairs. . . .

I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our military and naval officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs.

By the unanimous action of its people, without the firing of a shot—with a unanimity hardly before recorded in any similar case—the people of Panama declared themselves an independent republic. Their recognition by this Government was based upon a state of facts in no way dependent for its justification upon our action in ordinary cases. I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new state should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence. This rule is derived from the principle of non-intervention, and as a corollary of that principle has generally been observed by the United States. But, like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are in my opinion clear and imperative reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety, and, third, the interests of collective civilization. . . .

It seems to have been assumed in certain quarters that the proposition that the obligations of Article 35 of the Treaty of 1846 are to be considered as adhering to and following the sovereignty of the Isthmus, so long as that sovereignty is not absorbed by the United States, rests upon some novel theory. No assumption could be further from the fact. It is by no means true that a State in declaring its independence rids itself of all the treaty obligations entered into by the parent government. It is a mere coincidence that this question was once raised in a case involving the obligations of Colombia as an independent state under a treaty which Spain had made with the United States many years before Spanish-American independence. In that case John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, in an instruction to Mr. Anderson, our minister to Colombia, of May 27, 1823, said:

By a treaty between the United States and Spain, concluded at a time when Colombia was a part of the Spanish dominions . . . the principle that free ships make free goods was expressly recognized and established. It is asserted that by her Declaration of Independence Colombia has been entirely released from all the obligations by which, as a part of the Spanish nation, she was bound to other nations. This principle is not tenable. To all the engagements of Spain with other nations, affecting their rights and interests, Colombia, so far as she was affected by them, remains bound in honor and in justice. The stipulation now referred to is of that character.

The principle thus asserted by Mr. Adams was afterward sustained by an international commission in respect to the precise stipulation to which he referred; and a similar position was taken by the United States with regard to the binding obligation upon the independent State of Texas of commercial stipulations embodied in prior treaties between the United States and Mexico when Texas formed a part of the latter country. But in the present case it is unnecessary to go so far. Even if it be admitted that prior treaties of a political and commercial complexion generally do not bind a new state formed by separation. It is undeniable that stipulations having a local application to the territory embraced in the new state continue in force and are binding upon the new sovereign. Thus it is on all hands conceded that treaties relating to boundaries and to rights of navigation continue in force without regard to changes in government or in sovereignty. This principle obviously applies to that part of the Treaty of 1846 which relates to the Isthmus of Panama.

In conclusion let me repeat that the question actually before this Government is not that of the recognition of Panama as an independent republic. That is already an accomplished fact. The question, and the only question, is whether or not we shall build an isthmian canal.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate February 23, 1904, by a vote of 66 to 14.

It is most fitting that the Republican party at the close of its first fifty years of existence, and at the beginning of its second half-century, should be engaged in a similar work to that to which its career was first consecrated, namely, the liberty of man, the progress of civilization, and the furtherance of justice. The first decade of party work and effort was given to the uplifting of the human race, to the emancipation of servile labor, and to the vindication of right. The work begun during that decade has not yet been completed. It may be another half-century before the fruits of the War of the Rebellion shall be gathered in anything like full measure.

While emancipation was accomplished, and while the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment have to a large extent been carried out, yet it must be confessed that the Fifteenth Amendment is in large measure a dead letter. The repeal of this Amendment is even talked of, although such talk must be idle and empty of result.

But the so-called negro question or race question, although a most difficult and delicate problem for immediate solution, will work itself out in good time. Most emphatically has the colored race in a single generation shown itself capable of development. It has shown itself capable of being educated, of acquiring property, of holding office, and, best of all, of contributing to the uplifting of its own lower strata. The work must necessarily be slow and to a degree tedious. The adverse conditions developed during a period of 250 or 300 years cannot be reversed in a single generation. There is needed patience, and more patience, and more patience still. There is one solution, and only one, to the great problem which confronts us, and that is education.

The North has for the most part learned to appreciate fully

the feelings of the South on this question, and has conceded much to those feelings, even to the extent of ignoring the laws of the country. The South, under beneficent advantages afforded by the Protective Tariff, is no longer solely an agricultural community. Manufacturing plants are scattered over every State, and to-day the spindles of the South are consuming more than half of the raw cotton used by the spindles of the United States. Iron mines have been developed, coal fields have been opened, railroads are traversing almost every county, and the smoke arises from the chimneys of factories and mills in hundreds of cities and towns of a region capable of vast development, with resources almost illimitable and with opportunities enjoyed to a greater degree than any other spot of the earth.

The coming generation of Southerners must in time acknowledge the mistake their fathers are making, just as the present generation are free to acknowledge the errors of the ancestors of a generation or two ago. Calhoun, Hayne, and McDuffie were mistaken in believing that the South would be always an agricultural section of the country, and that a low Tariff would be necessary to their prosperity in order that they might sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest markets. The Democratic leaders of to-day in the South are mistaken in believing that they must constantly vote the Democratic ticket at all times against their own commercial interests, simply for fear of being out-voted by the negro to whom they are not ready to grant the advantages guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment. And yet this race has produced its Frederick Douglass, its Booker T. Washington, its B. K. Bruce, its Paul Laurence Dunbar, its Bishop B. W. Arnett, its Maria Baldwin, its Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, its Prof. W. S. Scarborough, its Bishop B. T. Tanner, its W. H. Grogman, its John R. Lynch, its Bishop J. W. Hood, its A. F. Hillyer, its George Williams, its Bishop Gaines, its Rev. F. J. Grimke, its T. T. Fortune, its Prof. W. E. B. Dubois, its Rev. Alexander Grummell, its Fannie Jackson Coppin, its Dr. Blyden, its E. A. Johnson, its Rev. D. J. Banders, its Bishop H. M. Turner, its Henry Q. Turner, its Mary Church Terrill, its Rev. Charles T. Walker, its R. R. Wright, its J.

M. Langston, and many others who have been a credit not only to their race, but to humanity itself. It is well for the people of our country, both North and South, to consider what this race has already accomplished in a material as well as an educational way. It is well for us to know that not only do 150,000 negroes in the South own farms, while 30,000 more are part owners, but that there are 550,000 who are tenants engaged in the business of agriculture, carrying responsibilities and preparing for independent ownership as soon as the opportunity and means shall come. In Virginia the colored people pay taxes on one twenty-sixth of all real property, and in the State of Georgia in 1901, the negroes owned 1,141,135 acres of land, having an assessed valuation of \$15,629,181 and an estimated market value of over \$30,000,000. The negroes of the South have to-day \$10,000,000 invested in business as against about \$5,000,000 in 1890. There are 23,000 negro churches distributing \$10,000,000 annually. According to President Smallwood, the negroes of the United States have accumulated \$300,000,000 worth of property, have built up 96 institutions of learning, and furnished 27,000 school teachers. They are not only acquiring wealth and property, but thousands of them are contributing to the support of the Government and the State, and aiding generously in the education and uplifting of their own race. It would seem that it might be a matter for consideration on the part of the wealthy and well-to-do people of the North, whether more of our surplus wealth could not well be sent for the enlargement of the schools now in operation and the inauguration of many other similar ones. It would seem that a part of the many millions which are sent to other parts of the earth might well be retained at home in the education of this race which is proving itself capable of such mental and commercial development. Three hundred prominent Southern white men were asked the following questions by Booker T. Washington:

Has education made the negro a more useful citizen?

Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire wealth?

Has it made him a more valuable workman, especially where thought and skill are required?

Has education improved the morals of the black race?

Has it made his religion less emotional and more practical?

Does crime grow less as education increases among the colored people?

Nine tenths answered all these questions emphatically in the affirmative. A few expressed doubt; but few answered "No."

There is perhaps enough legislation now written on our statute books to meet every requirement of this question. The opportunities, moreover, for educational advancement are unlimited, and herein lies the solution of this momentous problem. It may be added that education in the Southern States is not needed wholly by the blacks, but that a large portion of it can be most advantageously distributed among the whites as well as those they so much despise.

It will not be contended, in spite of the vast array of Republican achievement chronicled in these volumes, and the allusion to Democratic shortcomings, that all of good which we have experienced during the past half century should be credited to the Republican party, and all of bad to the Democratic party. At the same time it will not be questioned that the remarkable progress we have made as an industrial nation at home, and the rank which we have attained among the nations of the world, have accompanied the legislation and administration of the Republican party. It is quite possible that the same progress may have been made had the Democratic party been in power instead, but it is hardly likely that any fair-minded person will put forth such a claim.

The Republican party has been a consistent party throughout its career, and it stands to-day for the three great policies for which it stood at its birth, and during its every year of existence since. Those three policies are Liberty, Honor, and Progress. Equal liberty for every man, woman, and child under the shelter of our flag; liberty to live, liberty to toil, and liberty to acquire. Honor—in a standard of value, and money of redemption, equal to the highest known among nations; honor—to pay in full every obligation; honor—to

redeem every promise, implied, spoken, or written. Progress—not only of our own people, as has been shown in an elevation of the masses to the highest standard of living attained by any people of the human race; as shown in the development of our public school system, of our literature and its distribution, of our labor laws and of our industrial and financial undertakings throughout the length and breadth of the land; progress—not alone in the elevation of the people of the United States, but in the advancement of every people and every country where our influence is felt; progress—not only in a material upbuilding, but in a mental and moral elevation as well.

The Republican party, in its policies, its legislation, and its administration of the laws made by its chosen legislators, has from the beginning never faltered, never thought of retreat, and has never left a work till it was finished properly. The contention of a few who were at times numbered among the leaders of the party, that its work was done at different periods, has been so thoroughly disproved that the question hardly admits of debate. There has been no time when disbandment would not have been cowardice and a shirking of duty. Not only that, but it can well be added that the work of the Republican party is only well begun.

We are now a nation of 80,000,000 people and vast territory, and with duties involving strong foreign as well as domestic policies. Many lines of duty are already marked out for us, many others will appear as we go on from decade to decade and from generation to generation. One of the first, if not the most important duty of the Republican party of to-day, and of Republican voters of to-day, is to see to it that power is not again entrusted to the hands of the Democratic party, a party of repudiation of obligations, a party who would reduce the wages of our earning classes and the American standard of living to a level with the pauper labor of continental Europe. That should be quite enough to send every Republican to the polls at every election for the purpose of insuring the success of the Republican party and its chosen officers.

While much prominence has been given in this work to the

acts and expressions of those leaders of the party who have been most prominent in its councils, either at national conventions or in the national legislatures, yet there should not be forgotten those less demonstrative leaders, who may not often be heard upon the floor of the conventions, or the floor of either House of Congress, but whose untiring zeal and energy in promoting the welfare of their country is seen in the labor performed in the committee rooms in the examining of almost endless documents and papers and the framing of bills. The same may also apply to the clerks of committees, and to the thousands of departmental clerks throughout the service of the Government. A slip of a single one of these servants of the people, the slightest irregularity or fraud in any department, is magnified and made the most of through the sensational public print, while the many thousands of patient, plodding, faithful clerks and assistants receive little credit and praise for their work which is so necessary to the successful prosecution of the government service. All these servants of the people receive far too little in compensation for the services which they should render, and which for the most part they do render. Uncle Sam is exceedingly parsimonious when it comes to rewarding his officials. The President of the United States and his Cabinet, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, our representatives abroad, and many others engaged in the service of the Government should receive fully double the compensation now allowed them. Should a million or so more dollars be added to our civil expenditures in the way of increased salaries, it would be well expended and returned to the Government many fold.

It is shameful that men should give almost their whole lives to the service of their Government, and when old age comes have nothing whatever in a material way to show for their work. Members of Congress are naturally loath to increase their own salaries. The increase should be demanded by the united press of the country without regard to party. Many able and most desirable men have to decline appointment or election to prominent positions because they cannot afford the sacrifice they must make to accept less remuneration than

they are already receiving. There might well be a graded scale of remuneration in the legislative service, as there is in business and private service. A man who has been thirty years in the Senate of the United States is certainly a more valuable man, not only to his own constituents, but to the country at large, than the man who is in his first term in the House of Representatives. The man who has term after term for a quarter of a century been returned to the House of Representatives must be a much more valuable man in every way than the man entering upon the first year of his first term as Senator. Men of the longest experience in statecraft and business should be selected for election to these offices, and the compensation should be in keeping with the experience and knowledge and fitness of the man.

It has been necessary to confine this history to the acts of the Republican party as a national organization. A much greater amount of space would be necessary for even a résumé of the acts of State organizations. It is a matter of the keenest regret that not even passing reference can be made to prominent State leaders from the war Governors down to the Executives of the present day. Each and all have acted well their part, and wisely supplemented the legislation and administration of heads of departments, Congressmen, Cabinet officers, and Presidents. Most ably have the efforts of Cabinet officers been seconded by the work of assistant secretaries, a conspicuous example of which was the work of Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt prior to leaving the department to give his life, if needs be, to his country in its war for the liberty of the Cubans. In addition to the chosen legislators and executives who are most deserving of praise are those who have given so freely of their time and means to bring party success in national and State elections, none of whom deserve more honor and praise than the late chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator M. A. Hanna.

It may be that the leaders of the party have at times made mistakes. Lincoln with his thousand and one cares and worries, with his perplexing problems to be solved oftentimes instantly without time for deliberation or consultation—Grant,

the unerring soldier, during his difficult administration of affairs of State—Hayes in his very honesty and determination to do the right—Garfield during his brief incumbency—Arthur during his most trying succession—Harrison in his sternness but fairness—McKinley, the most kindly, the most tactful, and diplomatic President we ever had—Roosevelt in his impulsive, honest, hearty way—the leaders of the party, Seward, Chase, Morton, Chandler, Morrill, Blaine, Conkling, Reed, and others still honored by the votes of constituents—may have at times made mistakes, but the Republican party itself never knowingly committed but one error, the one exception to prove the rule.

Only for two years since the Republicans came into power have they lost it altogether. They should not lose it again for another half a century. Even handicapped by having a million or more of their voters disenfranchised, they should nevertheless, by wise legislation, by continued adherence to a Protective Tariff and sound money, by liberal but judicious expenditures in maintaining our position as the greatest Power on earth, by a conciliatory but firm foreign policy, keep the reins of government for an indefinite period.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEFECTIONS FROM THE PARTY—THE LIBERALS, MUGWUMPS, AND ANTIS—PARTY POLITICS

IT is not strange that a great political party, polling over a million votes in its first struggle and in less than fifty years increasing this vote to over 7,000,000 should, from time to time, have dissension within its own ranks, dissension sometimes temporary, sometimes leading to a permanent defection. It is rather a matter to be noted that there have been so few differences among Republicans, and that so few have left the party, some to return later, some to join the opposition or stand aloof from all parties.

It would seem at first, perhaps, as if the comparatively inconsiderable number of voters concerned would not warrant more than a mere mention or allusion to the several secessions, and yet the principles involved, and the character of the movements and of the men themselves appear to justify a more or less extended analysis. The loss of a hundred or a thousand votes out of a total of six or seven millions is in general not worth considering; and yet Presidents have been made and unmade by the casting of less than a thousand votes. Further, when men of character and standing, those who have been among the leaders of the party, join the opposition, the reasons should be sought and either justified or condemned.

The first defection from the party occurred in 1864, when we find the Republican candidate for President in 1856 accepting only eight years later a nomination as the candidate of an opposing faction. It is a matter for wonderment, indeed, that General Fremont and his followers felt as they did in 1864.

The lack of principle shown by Fremont intensified the feeling of thankfulness among loyal men everywhere that he had not been successful in 1856. Many citizens and soldiers of the North had become impatient over the outcome of the war, and some had given voice to this impatience by private letters to the President and through the columns of the press. Mr. Greeley was such a person, and yet it was not necessary for him to abandon his loyalty or his faith in the ultimate outcome. General Fremont had personal grounds of revenge upon which to base his action, and he was encouraged by certain so-called "Radical Republicans," headed by B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, who eight years afterwards was found heading another movement and calling himself a Liberal Republican.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that such men as William Cullen Bryant, George P. Putnam, William K. Strong, George Opdyke, and others foresaw and forestalled the first dissension headed by Brown and his followers. They advocated postponing the Republican convention to the latest possible date in order that the canvass might be of as short duration as possible. It need only be recorded that Fremont and John Cochrane, the latter being on the ticket as a candidate for Vice-President, withdrew before the end of the campaign, General Fremont making the following statement in a public letter:

The Presidential question has, in effect, been entered upon in such a way, that the union of the Republican party has become a paramount necessity. The policy of the Democratic party signifies either separation or establishment with Slavery. The Chicago platform is simply separation. Gen. McClellan's letter of acceptance is re-establishment with Slavery. The Republican candidate is, on the contrary, pledged to the re-establishment of the Union without Slavery; and, however hesitating his policy may be, the pressure of his policy will, we may hope, force him to it. Between these issues, I think that no man of the liberal party can remain in doubt, and I believe I am consistent with my antecedents and my principles in withdrawing—not to aid in the triumph of Mr. Lincoln, but to do my part toward preventing the election of the Democratic

candidate. In respect to Mr. Lincoln I continue to hold exactly the sentiments contained in my letter of acceptance. I consider that his administration has been politically, militarily, and financially a failure, and that its necessary continuance is a cause of regret for the country.

The Republican party, with the exception of a few malcontents, was united by election day, and Mr. Lincoln received about 350,000 more votes than in 1860, or, counting the soldier vote, over 450,000 more.

General Grant, at his first election, polled practically the entire vote of a harmonious Republican party. The problem he was at once called upon to face was indeed a most difficult one, made more so by the acts of his predecessor, President Johnson. It was not to be expected that he could satisfy the wishes of all the prominent men of the North, who held various opinions as to the best way in which the Confederate States should be readmitted and governed. Although reconstruction was for the most part completed before Grant entered upon his term, there being only three States which had not complied with the conditions established, the Southern question was by no means settled. The secret organization known as the Ku-Klux-Klan inaugurated a system of intimidation and terrorism, which it was indeed difficult to combat.

President Grant by his adherence to the scheme of annexing Santo Domingo alienated many of his former admirers, among others Senator Sumner and Horace Greeley. But it was in his distribution of offices that Grant made the most enemies, as has been the case with every President since, and probably always will be. The matter of distribution of patronage, whereby the Senators and Representatives shall control the appointments in their own States, was brought very clearly to the front early in General Grant's first term. It was natural that a popular General like Grant should have a host of friends, but the friendship of many depended to a large degree upon what they could succeed in getting in return for their devotion.

It will be remembered that in the Republican National Convention of 1864, Missouri was the only State whose delegates did not on the first ballot cast their vote for Mr. Lincoln, and

although the vote was afterwards changed, it was for Grant that Missouri cast her entire vote. In less than six years thereafter the Republicans of Missouri were plotting for the overthrow of Grant, and calling themselves Liberal Republicans, first joining the Democrats in a movement confined to State politics, and then branching out into a national movement which drew many Republicans from their party, and which went even to the point of holding a national convention and nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

It was in Missouri early in 1872 that a mass-meeting of Liberal Republicans was held, when it was voted to call a national convention of the Liberal Republicans on the 1st of May at Cincinnati.

Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio, the leader of the Northern Democrats who had assailed the administration during the war, was now ready to accept the results of the conflict, and advocated and worked for a conservative platform on which all the elements opposed to President Grant and the Republican party could unite. Whether Carl Schurz, who, with B. Gratz Brown, was a leader in the Missouri movement, had any secret understanding with Vallandigham or not, there is no doubt that so-called Liberal Republicans knew that there was at least a probability of their action being supported by the Democratic convention. B. Gratz Brown was a very fit man to be associated with the movement, but Carl Schurz, who had to this time been a loyal supporter of Northern sentiment, who had risen from the ranks to an honored position in the army, and who had been the temporary chairman of the convention which nominated Grant in 1868, would seem at first to be a strange associate for Vallandigham and Brown.

President Grant realized at once that he would be hampered severely by the Tenure-of-office act, and naturally emphasized to Republican Senators and Representatives his inability to make removals except for misconduct as provided under the law.

The Republican members of both Houses who had tied the hands of President Johnson were now anxious that more

freedom be secured for a friendly executive. A bill was quickly framed for repealing the Tenure-of-office act, which passed the House by a vote of 138 to 16, the negative votes all being those of Republicans. Upon reaching the Senate the bill was sent to the Judiciary Committee, and at once reported to the Senate, but with an amendment in the form of a substitute, providing that, instead of an absolute repeal, the Tenure-of-office act should be suspended until the next session of Congress. This make-shift, however, was not welcomed by the Senators, although among those who defended the suspension amendment were Trumbull, Edmunds, and Schurz. Mr. Blaine in his *Twenty Years of Congress* says of the situation :

Mr. Schurz was as anxious as Mr. Edmunds to give the President full power to remove the office-holders. He declared that he "would be the last man to hamper the President in the good work of cleaning out the Augean stable, which he is now about to undertake." He was sure that "the rings must be broken up," that "the thieves must be driven out of the public service." He eulogized President Grant as especially fit for the work. "We have," said he, "a President who is willing to do what we and the country desire him to do." Mr. Schurz expressed at the same time his "heartfelt concern" regarding a rumor that the President was very sensitive touching the proposition reported by the Judiciary Committee, and that "he will make no removals unless the civil-tenure bill be repealed instead of being suspended." Mr. Schurz was sure that "on all the great questions of policy the President and Congress heartily agree," and he condemned "the attempts made to sow the seeds of distrust and discord." It is somewhat amusing as well as instructive to recall that in a little more than two years from that time, when nearly all the appointees of President Johnson had been turned out of office, Mr. Schurz began work again at "the Augean stable," now locating it in the Grant administration, and demanding that it should be cleansed, that "the rings" should be broken up, that "the thieves must be driven out of the public service." He imputed to President Grant's administration even greater corruption than he had charged upon the administration of his predecessor, and from his ever-teeming storehouse lavished abuse with even a more generous hand upon the one than he had upon the other.

The act was subsequently modified by a bill agreed upon in conference, which practically destroyed the existing act without repealing it. The matter is mentioned merely to put on record Mr. Schurz and his reversal of opinion within a few months thereafter.

As regards President Grant's action upon the annexation of Santo Domingo, it is necessary to say no more than that while the President did all he could to further the scheme, yet when he found that it was not acceptable to the people, he abandoned it at once.

Regarding the appointments of the President, they were, like all appointments, heartily concurred in by those who got what they wanted and condemned by the disappointed office-seekers, whose characteristics do not differ from one campaign to another, or from one generation to another. It is not necessary to analyze the feelings and motives and actions of a disappointed office-seeker. With rare exceptions he is at once and for all time the enemy of the man who did not give him what he sought.

The Liberal Republican Convention of 1872 was held, the result of which has been given in preceding pages. The defection of Republicans from the party grew less and less as the campaign progressed, and but a handful of prominent seceders were left on election day.

It would seem as if the foundation of the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 was mainly one of resentment. Mr. Greeley and the *Tribune* still had wonderful influence, not only in New York State but throughout the country, and when he was defeated for the nomination for Governor in 1870, and when in the following year the so-called Fenton-Greeley delegation was excluded from the State convention, his anger knew no bounds. Mr. Conkling was then undoubtedly the leader of the Republican party in New York State, and Greeley and his followers became openly hostile not only to the Republican party in the State of New York, but to the national administration. Greeley felt that the President had used his position to strengthen himself by his appointments, and it was this reason that he gave mainly as the cause for his now bitter

opposition to the party which he had done so much to originate and build up.

Among the leading spirits of the Cincinnati Liberal Republican Convention were: Judge Henry R. Selden, General John Cochrane, Theodore Tilton, William Dorsheimer, Waldo Hutchins, and David Dudley Field of New York; Colonel A. A. McClure and John Hickman of Pennsylvania; Stanley Matthews, George Hoadly, and Judge R. P. Spalding of Ohio; Carl Schurz, B. Gratz Brown, William H. Grosvenor, and Joseph Pulitzer of Missouri; John Wentworth, Leonard Swett, Lieutenant-Governor Koerner, and Horace White of Illinois; Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky; George W. Julian of Indiana; Frank W. Bird and Edward Atkinson of Massachusetts; David A. Wells of Connecticut, and John D. Defrees of the District of Columbia. Mr. Schurz was chosen permanent president of the convention. A large majority of delegates were Free Traders who expected that a Free Trade plank would be inserted in the platform. Greeley, however, had always been an uncompromising Protectionist, and though knowing that he could not get a plank endorsing his own views, yet he worked most successfully for a compromise which resulted in dropping the issue entirely. The success of Greeley in becoming the candidate of the convention for President, although it was quickly brought about on the sixth ballot, was a great surprise and a matter of chagrin and disappointment to many.

At first the prominent Liberals were inclined to repudiate their own work. The Free Traders of New York held a meeting, presided over by William Cullen Bryant, at which addresses were made by David A. Wells, Edward Atkinson, and others, who had participated in the proceedings of the convention, and protests were uttered, but there it ended. These men had hoped for the nomination of their idol, Charles Francis Adams, who had now left the Republican party forever, and whose ambitions could not be furthered except through a new organization. The family of Adams had been a most honored one in American history and the politics of the nation. From the second President down to the representative of our country at the Court of St. James during the

Civil War, no family had a record which shone with greater lustre. But Mr. Adams was one of those men who proposed to wind up the affairs of the Republican party in 1872, as having completed its mission and having no further duties to perform. Some 3,600,000 of his fellow-citizens, however, thought differently, and the defeat of Greeley was most disastrous for the opponents of the Republican party. President Grant carried every Northern State (unless we except Missouri, which cast its vote for Greeley), and in addition all the Southern States except Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, and Texas. The movement had been a farce and a failure, and Liberal Republicanism died with its candidate soon after the election. Many of the men who had left the party now remained in an independent position, ready to vote for either party according to their mood and motive. Schurz however returned and did good work for the party during the campaign of 1876, for which he was rewarded by a place in the Cabinet of President Hayes.

It was contended by not a few critics of weight and influence, that Mr. Schurz was not a success as a Cabinet officer. Certain of his acts brought out sharp condemnation from the press, and in some respects his administration of the Interior Department was unfortunate. His treatment of the Ponca Indians was described as unfair in the extreme and aroused indignation in many quarters without regard to party. Senator Hoar, in his *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, says that President Hayes was willing to expel Mr. Schurz from his Cabinet. The interesting incident is given as follows:

President Hayes was very much excited. He seemed at the time to think that a great wrong had been done by the Secretary. He brought his fist down upon the table with great emphasis, and said: "Mr. Hoar, I will turn Mr. Schurz out, if you say so." I said: "Oh no, Mr. President, I hope nothing of that kind will be done. Mr. Schurz is an able man. He has done his best. His mistake, if he has made one, is only that he has adhered obstinately to a preconceived opinion, and has been unwilling to take advice or receive suggestions after he had determined on his course. It would be a

great calamity to have one of your Cabinet discredited by you." President Hayes took that view of it.

Like all disputes which hinge on the judgment of a single man, supporters were found both for and against Mr. Schurz's decision. It is to be remembered to his credit that, well in advance of the enactment of the Civil Service Reform act, Mr. Schurz introduced a practical civil service system into the Department of the Interior. The very material advantages secured through his policy and methods for the business interests of the Government and for the morale of the employees constituted a most valuable precedent and helped not a little towards the accomplishment of the reform. The Independents of 1872, who had not gone back to the Republican party, assured Mr. Schurz of their sympathy, but the condemnation which he received from the members of his own party doubtless constituted an important influence in his decision to leave it, and in the contest he made against both the nomination and election of James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine had given an estimate of Mr. Schurz, which though truthful in every respect was certainly uncomplimentary, and it required more patience and forgiveness than Mr. Schurz possessed to refrain from retaliation.

The defeat of Mr. Blaine at the conventions of 1876 and 1880 has been fully recorded, as has also his final triumph at the convention of 1884. It is true that a handful of delegates went into that convention determined to use every honest endeavor to defeat both Mr. Blaine and Mr. Arthur. Chief among these was that scholar in politics, George William Curtis, and it was he who within a week after the decision of the convention had been made, came out strongly against its nominee. The reader should turn to the proceedings of that convention and read the words of commendation which Mr. Curtis used regarding the Republican party. They are well worth repeating as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I shall not repeat to you the splendid story of the Republican party; a story that we never tire of telling; and that our children will never tire of hearing; a story which

is written upon the heart of every American citizen, because it recounts greater services for liberty, for the country, for mankind, than those of any party in any other nation, at any other period of time.

And what is the secret of this unparalleled history? It is simply that the Republican party has been always the party of the best instincts, of the highest desires, of the American people. This is its special glory. It has represented the American instinct of nationality, American patriotism, and American devotion to liberty.

Then follows a brief description of the Democratic party, which is also well worth repeating as follows:

We are confronted with the Democratic party, very hungry, and, as you may well believe, very thirsty; a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct National policy which it dares to present to the country; a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils.

In using the above words Mr. Curtis was nominating as a candidate for President Mr. George F. Edmunds. In estimating the character of the candidate who should be nominated, he said: "He must also be an unswerving Republican." It would seem that till his candidate was defeated, Mr. Curtis believed in the Republican party, that he condemned the Democratic party, and that he took as his ideal a Republican who must be unswerving. Earlier during the convention, Mr. Curtis had spoken very feelingly against a resolution, afterwards withdrawn, providing that no man should take part in the convention who was not ready to support its nominee. Mr. Curtis had assumed that "every man here is an honest man and an honorable man," indicating at least, if not asserting, that a man who took part in the proceedings of the convention till it closed would be dishonest and dishonorable if he did not remain "an unswerving Republican" and support the nominee and platform of the convention.

Mr. Edmunds, the candidate of Mr. Curtis, was not nominated. Mr. Blaine's nomination was made unanimous, and as every record of the convention shows that there were no

dissenting votes, Mr. Curtis was bound in honor to support the ticket and platform adopted by the convention. The New York *Tribune* of the following day reported that Mr. Curtis had told one or two men, including William Walter Phelps, that, while he was disappointed, he should support the action of the convention, and yet in a few days we find him presiding over a meeting called for the purpose of taking action against the candidates of the Republican party, and endorsing that party which he had only a few days before condemned so severely, and whose candidates were not yet nominated.

What turned Curtis from the path of political wisdom and duty, as defined by himself, to a different course, probably no one but himself and the men with whom he was associated knew. He was a man of sufficient calibre and independence and position in his profession to withstand any influence of his employers in which he was not perfectly willing to coincide. *Harper's Weekly*, of which Curtis was at the time editor, at once became the opponent of the Republican party, as it had been at certain periods during the War of the Rebellion, when its cartoons, ridiculing Mr. Lincoln, were looked upon with such favor by the Confederacy and the disloyal Democrats of the North. George William Curtis was a man admired and respected and beloved by all till he had retracted his own opinions and turned upon his own party and principles in 1884. His public life was as near perfection as any one could wish to attain. His arguments soon became those of other Mugwumps who preceded and followed him, and were of no abiding influence.

There were other delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1884 who were just as much opposed to the nomination of Mr. Blaine as was Mr. Curtis, but who remained the unswerving Republicans Mr. Curtis had so much admired, and who were consistent enough to stand by the nominee whom they helped to create.

Carl Schurz was not a delegate to the convention, but was just as much in evidence as if he had been. He was present at the many conferences from day to day and did much to stir up feeling against Mr. Blaine, but to no purpose. His part in the

campaign which followed was very prominent, and as he was chosen as the spokesman for the Mugwumps, we have, in our chapter devoted to the campaign of 1884, given a large portion of the speech made by him in Brooklyn in defence of his course and of those who went with him.

Many estimable men and some very strong journals joined the movement against Mr. Blaine, and have since that time chosen to remain in an independent position, rejoicing in the name of Mugwumps. This band of men have had much to say, if not much to do with our politics since that time. It is impossible to give more than an approximate estimate of their number at any one time. It is said that they numbered as many as four hundred in 1884, and they themselves claim a much larger membership. Reckoned by the noise they made, they might have numbered four million.

As Carl Schurz has, since the death of George William Curtis, been looked upon as an ideal Mugwump and a leader of that element, it may be well to examine briefly for what he stands. First, we should know the definition of the word which has been accepted as a party name. Colonel Ingersoll said once that "a Mugwump, like the mule, has no pride of ancestry, nor hope of posterity." The definition, although a facetious one, is the best that could be given. So thoroughly is the Mugwump absorbed in himself and the present, that neither the past nor the future has any concern for him. It is also said that the resemblance of the syllables of the word "Mugwump" to the continual croaking of a frog made the name a most fitting one. But to give a serious definition we turn to the Century Dictionary, which has the following:

Mugwump. A person who thinks himself of consequence; a self-important man.

In *U. S. Polit. Hist.*, one of the Independent members of the Republican party who in 1884 openly refused to support the nominee (June 6th) of that party for the presidency of the United States, and either voted for the Democratic or the Prohibitionist candidate or refrained from voting. The word was not generally known in any sense before this time, but it took the popular fancy, and was at once accepted by the Independents themselves as an honorable title.

In the first place, the Mugwump disapproves, as a rule, of attending the caucus or primary, because in so doing he would be pledged to the action of that caucus and not thereafter left free to exercise his choice at the polls. Here begins the inconsistency, which he carries with him throughout every action. He holds aloof from nominating candidates in the first stages of party politics, and then condemns a choice of which he does not approve.

It must be conceded at the outset that the Mugwump is in nearly every instance a man of intelligence and of position in his community. Whether there be one or more in a ward, his standing would no doubt give him a considerable influence in any primary which he might attend. If he were an honest, patriotic, consistent citizen, he would see his first duty and attend the caucus of one party or the other, and help to put in nomination the candidate who must be voted for on election day; but he does not do this for fear of contamination. It is the principal tenet of the Mugwump that he is to hold aloof from all parties, and be able to go from one to the other, acting as a balance and compelling each to put forth its best efforts to secure his support.

In order to give the fullest justice to the position of the Mugwumps themselves, the writer has taken particular pains through personal interviews and correspondence to get their precise views, principles, and pretensions. Looking upon Carl Schurz as probably their most prominent living leader, he solicited and obtained an interview, when, during a considerable length of time, he questioned Mr. Schurz and noted his answers. Schurz must always remain an enigma to the American people. He came to this country, as have many others, from a foreign land and has become one of our most distinguished citizens. He fought in the War of the Rebellion, rising from the ranks to a high position. His service to the country was duly recognized, and will always be held in grateful remembrance by a people who do not forget. His action in 1870, when with B. Gratz Brown he brought about the fusion in Missouri and the movement which led to the Cincinnati Convention of 1872, although he had been honored by having

been chosen temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1868; his return to the party in 1876 and his membership of President Hayes's Cabinet, followed by his intense antagonism to Mr. Blaine and to the Republican party, an antagonism which culminated in 1884, and has continued to the present day, are all well known to the student of affairs.

As near as can be ascertained, the Mugwump position, as outlined by Mr. Schurz, was not different from that which most Mugwumps would give as defining the motives and reasons for holding aloof from any party, namely, that by swinging from one to the other and always being in a threatening attitude, they compel the parties to make better nominations, and, through their candidates and platforms, put forth their best efforts to deserve and to obtain the support and votes of this body of men.

Their creed, after all, is very simple, but far too altruistic, as will be noted in the discussion of what the Mugwump has or has not accomplished.

The Mugwump press differs in no way from the Mugwump individual, excepting as it may be in evidence the year round and every day in the year.

A typical example is the *Springfield Republican*, and in giving an estimate of this journal, the writer feels that he is warranted not alone because it has been for years a part of his matutinal diet, but because he has read it almost daily for the last thirty years, and because, further, he has within the last year or two studied carefully every number of its daily issue since 1850. He has drawn from its pages many of the historical facts contained in this work, for which he has given due credit. He is free to state at the outset, that there is probably no journal in this country from whose files one can secure a fuller and a more accurate recital of the events in our history during the last half-century. Probably no daily paper in the United States exhibits more varied characteristics. In the first place, as an example of news gathering and news presentation it is probably not excelled by any paper of the country, metropolitan or provincial. Its typographical make-up is as

near perfection as can be attained by a daily paper produced in the brief time available.

The *Springfield Republican* and its famous editor, Samuel Bowles, did much to mould public opinion during the year 1854, when the old parties of the North were merging into the new Republican party in different States of the Union. As has been shown, the Republican party was not successful in Massachusetts, either in 1854 or 1855, but the work was begun and was so terminated that never in a presidential election has Massachusetts been found in any but the Republican column. For the purpose of this chapter, we need give no consideration to the course of the *Republican* previous to 1872. Until then it was always a loyal, consistent Republican paper.

When the cry of "Anything to beat Grant!" assumed formidable shape, the *Republican* found itself in a very trying position. On April 6, 1872, it said:

We have no faith in a reform party made up of the Democracy and a small per cent. of the Republican party, consisting perhaps equally of its disaffected office-seekers and its advanced and most courageous and most unselfish thinkers. We do not believe such a party will be formed; and we do not believe it will amount to much if it is.

On April 29th, however, it felt somewhat differently, as can be seen from the following in the issue of that day:

Shall the government be administered in the interests of the whole people, or, as in late years, in that of a party, a faction or a person? Shall the people retain the right of local self-government, or shall they be governed more and more from Washington? Shall the memories and rancors of the war be perpetuated by a policy of proscription and hate, creating a disaffected and restless Poland in the Southern states, to be a constant source of uneasiness and peril; or shall the powerful instincts of patriotism and national unity, dormant for a season but never quite dead, be allowed full play under a policy of generous amnesty and reconciliation?

Here was shown the agility in political somersaults for which the Mugwump has become famous. Both Mr. Bowles and the

Republican at once became eager for the nomination of Mr. Adams, but they were disappointed, and the result had to be met courageously, accepting the bitter pill and gulping it down without a murmur.

But the party and cause espoused by the *Republican* were not successful, and from that time to this its influence in making and unmaking votes has been imperceptible. The *Republican* has remained since, as it would say, independent of all parties, and of all politicians. It was in a frame of mind to become an ideal Mugwump in 1884. It had helped to spread the charges against Mr. Blaine, and it was even more consistent than those delegates who went into the convention Republicans and came out Mugwumps, because it had opposed Mr. Blaine for years. It is even a question if it would have supported Mr. Edmunds as against Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Bayard, so thoroughly had it abandoned its earlier faith in Protection and gone over to the Free-Trade propaganda of the Democratic party.

During the campaign of 1884, the *Republican*, like all other papers of its class, worked unceasingly for the defeat of Blaine and Logan, and for the election of Cleveland and Hendricks. Not only upon its editorial page, but in its news columns were found examples of its unfairness. One does not criticise a Republican or a Democratic paper for giving more prominence to the news of its own party, and for emphasizing its own arguments and suppressing the arguments of its opponents, but one does look for something different in an independent paper which claims to be above all partisanship, and which is in a position to weigh both sides fairly and give judgment for what in its opinion seem to be the better principles and the better men. This the *Republican* did not do in 1884, and this the *Republican* does not do now.

In reporting the Republican Convention of 1884, it gave a single paragraph only to the speech of Judge West nominating Mr. Blaine, while it gave considerably over a column to the speeches nominating Mr. Edmunds. The suppression of a recent speech by Senator Lodge upon Canadian reciprocity "for want of room," shows that it has not changed and that it

does not reach its own professed ideal. Pages might be given of these examples, but it is not necessary.

•The transition, or rather evolution, of the Mugwump into the "Anti" was most natural, and the new name fitted even better than the old. Not every Mugwump, however, became an Anti, though nearly every Mugwump remains a Free-Trader. But with rare exceptions every Anti is either a Democrat or a Mugwump, and since 1898 has been against the administration, and generally against the policies and leaders of the Republican party. It is not so much the Anti's professions as many of his performances, which are both objectionable and injurious. The sympathy with Aguinaldo and the insurgents, and the untruths told and repeated about our Government and our soldiers, had the effect to prolong the war and to increase the taking of lives and the shedding of blood. The Anti at home, cowardly and safely training his epithets of vituperation upon the President and his advisers, seemed a greater traitor than the insurgent, firing on our flag and our troops in declared battle. The hostility of the *Springfield Republican* to Mr. McKinley was natural, as Mr. McKinley stood for a fiscal policy which found no favor with the *Republican* whatever. It may not be true that the *Republican* was rejoiced for an opportunity to make an attack upon President McKinley, which continued with unceasing vigor almost to the day of his death. But these attacks were continually found not only in its editorial columns, but one of its well-known correspondents was freely permitted to give expression to similar attacks, as an example of which utterances may be cited the following of August 17th, preceding the President's death:

I am afraid the unwonted stillness of McKinley out in Ohio betokens mischief. Perhaps he is plotting to capture the Duke of Cornwall and annex Canada, and earnestly using his "nearness to the mind of God," which the *Congregationalist* once vouched for, to pledge Destiny and Senator Hoar to stand by him. Perhaps he is "inditing a goodly matter" as the good book says—drafting a Farewell Address which will as much surpass Washington's as Hanna excels Hamilton. The country will be all ready for his good-by when it comes.

In about a month the "Good-by" came, but, contrary to the prediction of the *Republican's* correspondent, the country was not ready for it.

The columns of no paper in the country, not even including the yellowest of yellow journals, exhibited any such venomous attacks upon the President and his policy as did those of the *Springfield Republican*. They were the more effective, perhaps, because it must be admitted that the vocabulary of the *Republican* is as unlimited as the English language itself. The paper is not, however, criticised because it is not in harmony with the views of the leaders of the Republican party, nor because it criticises the acts of those leaders. It does, however, seem to be a fit subject for criticism, that with its pretensions for wisdom and fairness, it does not seem always to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

It would seem as if the *Republican*, like all Mugwump journals, found it almost absolutely impossible to praise or commend; so thoroughly pessimistic is it, that it can find only the dark side of every question and the imperfection of every issue. It is like a man walking through the forest, who sees not the grand trunks of the trees, who has no eye for the beautifully formed branches and leaves—who sees only the broken limb or the stump in his path. The blemishes of our national existence are looked at as though through a magnifying-glass, while the successes and perfections and completions are almost entirely ignored.*

For some time the *Republican* has taken the position that it might be better not to disturb the Tariff, because in the course of events a panic must come and a business depression must follow, which can then be laid to the Dingley law, while if the Tariff were changed before the panic came it would not be possible so to place it; and in harmony with this view it seems to have been looking for many months for the panic and for the business depression, and appears consequently out of all patience that they do not come to vindicate its own expressed opinion. Upon financial affairs particularly is it pessimistic in the extreme. The least disquieting condition is fully noted and made the most of. It may be that it is unconscious of

this attitude; it may be that the very atmosphere and environment into which it has fallen prompts these pessimistic utterances, without full thought or knowledge that there are other views to be taken of political, social, and commercial questions.

In this respect the *Republican* might well be contrasted with the *New York Times*, a similarly scholarly and clean purveyor of the news of the day. The *Times* is a Democratic paper, a Free-Trade journal, and certainly in but little sympathy with the predominant party and its leaders. At the same time, in presenting the news of the day, more particularly the financial news to which it gives considerable space and attention, it is optimistic in the extreme and inclined to belittle the trivial, disturbing, and disquieting news, giving the brightest possible views of the situation, while at the same time confining itself thoroughly to exact facts and conditions.

Concerning this subject the writer wishes to refer to a work by J. S. Gibbons, published by D. Appleton & Company in 1858. The work is devoted to the banks and clearing-house of New York, with a chapter upon the panic of 1857. After giving the causes of the panic the writer says:

There was one cause of aggravation, however, that cannot be called an accident. The weekly publication of failures, in *The Independent*, a religious paper of wide circulation, spread dismay over the country. This frightful record was copied by all the principal journals, from Boston to New Orleans. It sharpened and fed the common appetite for calamities. It cut off remittances from debtors, who were too ready to adopt the plea that "money would be of no use to broken merchants," and to follow it up by assuming that "all were as good as broken"—a protest that found some color of support, in a record that embraces, by the middle of October, more than twelve hundred merchants of all classes, incorporated stock companies, and banks. It became a reproducing cause of embarrassment, and one of the chief agencies in propagating that moral insolvency which constituted a prominent feature of the panic. The sanctity of engagements was openly repudiated, under the pretext of universal bankruptcy. The authors of this commercial necrology could urge nothing in its defence but the improved sale of a newspaper! Their excuse might be thoughtlessness, or incapacity to see

that any rule of decency is broken by holding up the misfortunes of individuals to gratify a morbid public curiosity.

It is well known that an exaggerated statement from the most obscure person will create a run upon a bank which may be absolutely solvent. The statement of a reputable or disreputable newspaper attacking commercial confidence may result in much greater terrorism on the part of small investors and the financial public in general. It would seem as if the *Springfield Republican* might be most justly criticised for its course in this matter if not in the exaggerated and unjust attacks upon the Republican party and most of its leaders.

It must be fully understood that the writer does not find fault with the *Republican*, nor has he any right to find fault with that paper or any other for disagreeing with national or political policy. He does believe, however, that he has the right to criticise a paper, and all of its class, which have constantly for years made untruthful and unjust attacks upon his party and upon the nation's trusted officers. It would not perhaps, be good business policy for the *Springfield Republican* to change its name, which is a misnomer, but it might its methods, which seem false and inconsistent with its pretensions.

Such is a Mugwump journal, which is taken as an example of its class, and which, with all of this class, has tried without success or any appreciable effect to injure the Republican party and most of its leaders for the past thirty years.

In the light of history and with the knowledge of completed purposes and performances it may fairly be claimed that the defections from the Republican party have not been attended with any success or good, but were founded upon false premises and accompanied by unwarranted motives and purposes. The defection in 1864 was but a flash in the pan; the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 was a failure, and resulted only in ridicule and the death of a most honored man, and with him the death of the movement itself. The Mugwump hostility to Mr. Blaine in 1884, which had been brewing since 1876, was founded upon what were believed at the time, and have since been proven, to be unfounded charges. All but the

Mugwumps, who once having expressed an opinion never reverse it, to-day concede that the charges against Mr. Blaine were never proven, and that he was not the kind of man that his enemies represented him to be. It is necessary to quote but two or three of the numerous endorsements of this view. From a standpoint of the opposition we take the following from Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People*.

The candidate [Mr. Blaine] whom the Republicans had preferred was as brilliant a leader as any party had had for a generation. . . . He had played a great part in legislation. Three successive times before they lost control of the House of Representatives (1869-1875) the Republicans had made him Speaker, and he had used the power of that great office to make himself master of party action in the lower House, after the manner of the later Speakers, but with a personal hold upon the members of the House such as no man had enjoyed since Henry Clay. There were rumors that he had used his power also to obtain favors from certain railway and mining corporations and enrich himself. Nothing was proved. When the charges made against him were looked into with careful and impartial scrutiny they turned out to have very disputable foundation.

Mr. Edward Stanwood in his *History of the Presidency*, after relating the charges made against Mr. Blaine in 1876, says:

The present writer, who enjoyed a lifelong personal friendship, and for many years was on terms of intimacy, with Mr. Blaine, always believed in his innocence not only of the charges here referred to, but of others which his political opponents made against him.

Mr. Hoar, in his *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, has this to say about Mr. Blaine and the charges made against him:

He was charged with having acquired stocks in railroads which were to be affected by National legislation, either without consideration or for a consideration far below their true value, and of having eagerly sought to acquire other similar stocks, the real consideration which he paid, or expected to pay, being the use of his official influence in behalf of these corporations. This investigation, ordered

by the Democratic House of Representatives, was conducted by a majority of the committee charged with it, in a spirit of bitter hostility. . . . I studied that evidence as thoroughly and faithfully as I could. I have gone over the matter very carefully since. I was then satisfied, and am satisfied now, that the charges against Mr. Blaine of any corruption or wrong-doing were totally unsustained. They would never have found credit for a moment except in minds deeply excited by the bitter political passion which at that time raged to a degree wholly unknown in our political strife to-day. . . .

The other charge that he demanded a favor in this purchase as compensation for a ruling he had made as Speaker was, in my judgment, equally unfounded and trivial. . . .

No man has lived in this country since Daniel Webster died, save McKinley alone, who had so large a number of devoted friends and admirers in all parts of the country.

The bolt of the Silver Republicans in 1896 was dramatic, but had the effect to strengthen rather than weaken the Republican party. It must be conceded to Mr. Teller and his followers and associates, that they left their party in an open and honorable way. It was no question of men but of principle. Those Silver Republicans said: "We differ with you on the most vital issue affecting our personal interests, and we believe the interests of our States and nation. We must therefore leave you and vote against you." Honorable but mistaken men!

The contention and action of the Silver Republicans in 1896 needs no further comment than an allusion to the fact that the best wisdom of the country, regardless of party, has spoken most emphatically against the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, so widely varying from the true commercial ratio of the two metals.

Enough time has elapsed since our war with Spain, our liberation of Cuba, our acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines, to vindicate every act and policy of the Republican party regarding our new possessions. We have given Cuba her liberty, as we said we would when we declared war in her behalf; we have done more than give to her the liberty

promised,—we have been most generous in our laws affecting our relations with her. The reciprocity treaty which was entered into with that island December 27, 1903, heaped full and to overflowing our fulfilment of pledges made to that people. Our relations with Porto Rico and the Philippines have carried out in full measure the declared principles and policies of the Republican party in spite of the anti-Imperialistic propaganda carried on so persistently, particularly in the State of Massachusetts. The Panama affair seems to have come just in time to save the Antis from complete despair.

The Free Trade party has abandoned hope of the Dingley law being condemned through impairment of prosperity and a return to immediate adversity. They have therefore turned their whole attention to what they term "the entering wedges of reciprocity treaties." The term "Tariff Reform" it has been necessary to lay away upon the shelf, as it has been taken up by the Protectionists of Great Britain, showing that "Tariff Reform" may mean a change of Tariff schedules in one direction as well as in another.

Looking back, then, over the history of the Republican party during its entire career, it would seem safe in summing up the situation to declare that in no instance have those who left the party, either temporarily or permanently, been warranted in so doing, nor has their action in a single instance been vindicated by subsequent events. On the contrary, without exception, every defection of the party has been proven to be unwise, uncalled for, and unjust. It must be asserted that if any or all of the defections from the Republican party have had any effect whatever, it has been one adverse to the interests of the country, and this must ever prove to be the case.

It would seem as if for years and decades and perhaps generations to come, the country would be ruled wholly or in part by the officials chosen by one or the other of the great parties which have been in opposition now for over half a century. Unless some great issue of most overshadowing influence should be raised, it would seem impossible that a third party could come to any formidable proportions or assume more than a balance of power, if even that. But this balance of power,

of which the Mugwump particularly so loves to boast, has been and must continue to be of vastly more effect if wielded within rather than without the party.

It is not to be wondered at that seven million voters, belonging to any political organization, cannot be in perfect harmony on all subjects. There have been many sincere men who have differed sometimes quite widely from the policy adopted by their party. They have believed, however, that they could best serve not only that party, but their country's best interests by remaining true partisans, and opposing, if need be, the principles at stake, doing so as Democrats or Republicans and not as men without party allegiance or power. Perhaps one of the most distinguished examples of this class of men is the venerable Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, whose action has been commended and followed by many of his fellow-countrymen. Mr. Hoar has differed at times from his party, and regarding our Philippine policy has been in distinct opposition, and yet he has remained a staunch and loyal Republican, believing that if his views were to prevail he could give them more emphasis and effectiveness as a Republican among Republicans than as an Anti whose very sincerity must be questioned.

But taking the Mugwumps at their own estimate, and assuming that their motives have been of the purest, what have they accomplished? One reason why it is difficult to answer this question is, because it has never been possible to count them. Their policy of always acting with some opposition party, and never independently of all parties, precludes any possibility of ascertaining definitely what they may have achieved. But if we cannot tell what they have done, we can at least tell what they have not done. Their principal plea is that they stand as a balance and compel the Republican and Democratic parties to make better nominations—to put up their best men and adopt their best platforms. But when has a Republican or Democratic national or State convention in a single instance ever been influenced in making a nomination or framing a platform because of the Mugwumps? Did the Republicans consider the Mugwumps in naming Benjamin Harrison in 1888

and 1892? Did they consider the Mugwumps in naming William McKinley in 1896 and 1900? Not in the least. No more has any State convention heeded their existence. It may or may not be, that the Mugwumps elected Grover Cleveland in 1884. If they did, then they precipitated the Tariff fight which ended in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff, and which, according to the Republican contention, brought untold misery to our people. If they crave credit for that they are certainly welcome to it.

It is well to note here the fact that the Mugwump has always seemed unduly to emphasize or magnify men instead of principles. He could abandon every good thing he had previously endorsed in Republican principles to show his spite against Blaine. He then idolized Cleveland, and when he became an Anti he nursed his bitterness and poured out the vials of wrath upon McKinley, than whom no more humane, no more just, no more conscientious, no more honorable man ever lived.

The delegates in the Republican National Convention of 1884 who voted for Blaine were animated by as pure motives and high ideals as those who voted for Edmunds. Those who voted for Edmunds, but who acquiesced finally in the nomination of Blaine, were in every respect the equals of those who bolted the action of the convention.

In criticising the Mugwumps of 1884 and of subsequent years, who are for the most part the Antis of the present time, we can concede, or rather it may not be denied, that they are men of the highest character and with purposes and motives that ought not to be challenged. It must be conceded, too, that every man has a legal and moral right to vote as his judgment and conscience dictate. At the same time, in concluding our analysis of the various movements and defections from the Republican party, it must be said at least that the Mugwump seems to be a mistaken and unwise man, no matter what may have been the reasons or motives for his actions. His contentions are entitled to careful and honest consideration; but while his motives may be of the purest, and his purposes the most honorable, it is impossible under our present system

of politics and elections to accomplish what he may have in view.

The question would then seem to arise, whether it is good policy for a man to remain independent in order to follow a principle, which must be without result, or whether he might better remain in his party and strive to attain his ends, as has Senator Hoar.

No one will question that the Prohibitionist is honest in his endeavor to check, if not prohibit the sale of liquor, and yet when and where has the Prohibition party accomplished its purposes when voting independently? One of the two great parties of necessity more nearly approaches the standard of the Independent than the other, and by throwing his strength with that party he would be more likely to attain his purposes than by throwing away his vote absolutely.

This thought leads to one of the great objections made by the Independent to persistent membership with one of the great parties. We are told that it is impossible to obtain anything excepting at the will of the so-called bosses or party leaders: in fact, the boss or party leader may be oftentimes an irksome element to many who remain loyal to party. But party leadership is as necessary as the manager of an industrial concern. Leaders cannot choose themselves and retain their places without unusual strength and the consent of their followers. The majority must and should always rule, and the minority should submit, or else by argument or vote bring to its own side and to its own principles enough of the opposition to further its own desires. A man cannot reform a party by working outside of it. It can only be done by working on the inside. A man may constantly remain with and vote with his party, and at the same time not believe in all of its policies. Perhaps he may not, as Senator Hoar claims, in almost every case in which he differs with his party bring it finally around to his own views, but if he be right and his party be wrong, he will soon be joined by enough of his fellow-voters to correct any evil or injustice that may exist. Party organization and party leadership must and will continue, and the best organization and the best leadership will often win against the better

men and better principles. When we can combine with good principles and good candidates the best organization and leadership, there can be no defeat, but at all times overwhelming victory.

The Republican party has in a national contest in only one instance—and it is a question whether it has in any instance—been defeated by Independent votes. Had the several distinguished men who have left the party at one time or another, and for one reason or another, remained with the party, there can be no doubt that while in the main the principles and policies of the party would not have been changed, they would have come nearer to accomplishing their wishes instead of accomplishing nothing, or working injury, which has been the result. Mr. Hoar in his *Autobiography* tells us that ex-Secretary George S. Boutwell commended his course in remaining with his party while differing with it upon one of the main questions at issue during the past few years. One wonders why Mr. Boutwell, who was an honored member of the Republican party for many years, should not have remained with it as has Senator Hoar, whose course he commends.

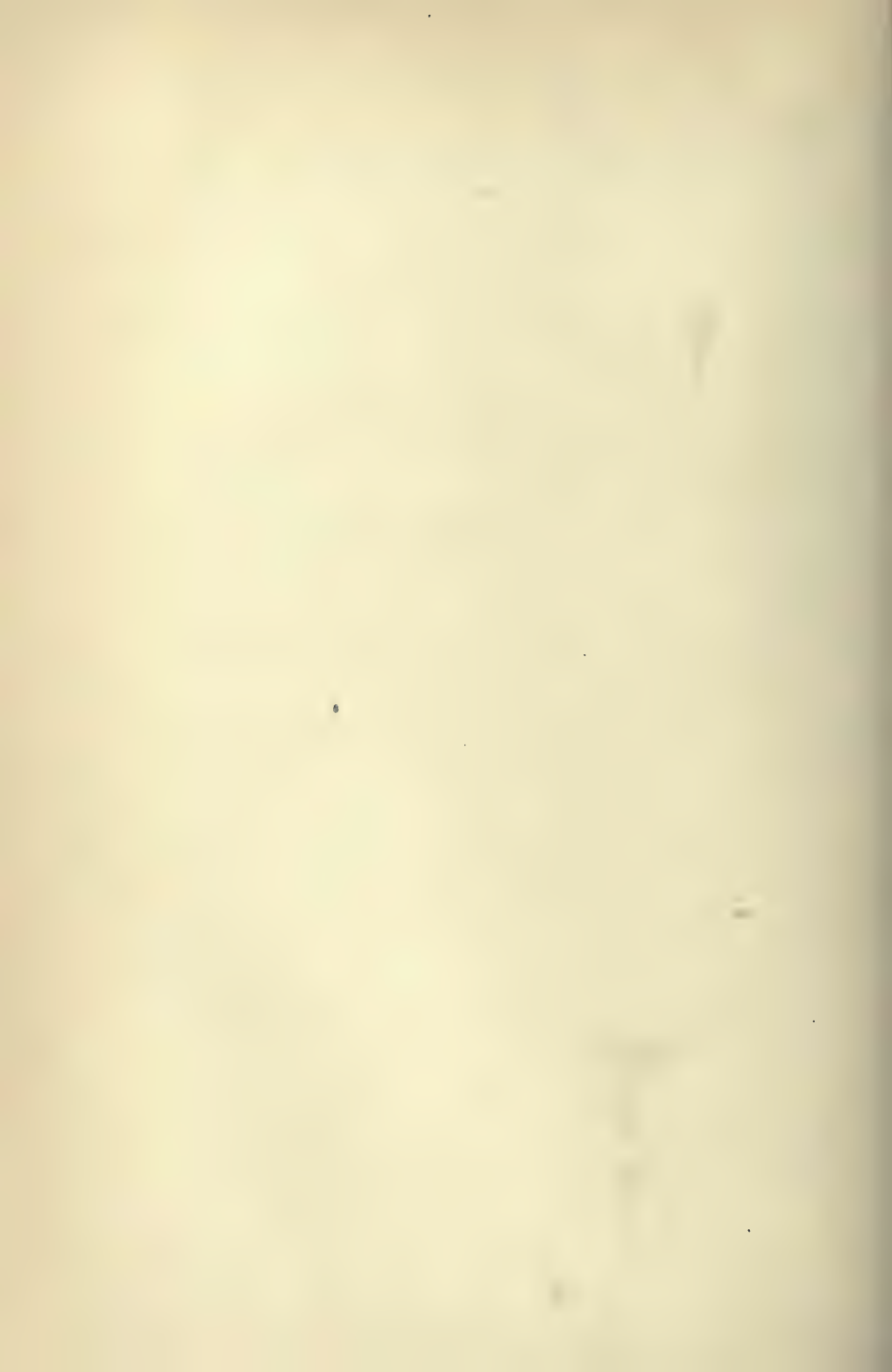
If one might venture an opinion of the true cause of Mugwumpism, it may be said that but few men have the courage to reverse an expressed opinion or an act, even though they may confess to themselves and to their nearest friends that perhaps after all they were unwise and impolitic; and yet some of our greatest statesmen have done that very thing. John C. Calhoun did this when he changed from a Protectionist to a Free Trader; Daniel Webster did it when he changed from an advocate of low tariff to a Protectionist; David A. Wells did it when he changed his economic views concerning the Tariff; and other examples might be cited, but the Mugwump does not seem to have either the courage or the inclination to do this, and therein he confirms the definition which we have quoted from Colonel Ingersoll.

There is no doubt that in government by party, when the party in power is continually met by a strong opposition, persistent and consistent, founded upon strong principles and led by strong men, it is not only for the best good of the

party in power, but for those who are governed by it. Such opposition coming from a dissatisfied and scolding handful of malcontents, voting first with one party and then with another, has not this corrective element of strength nor can its influence be felt or rendered effective.

If the Prohibitionist can check the consumption of liquor more through the Republican party, then he should vote with that party and gain what he may. Should the Protectionist believe that he can do more to maintain a higher Tariff schedule through the Republican party, then he should vote with that party. Should the believer in a gold standard and an honest dollar believe that through the Republican party he can bring about a maintenance of that principle, then he should vote with the Republican party. Should the Independent or Mugwump or Anti believe that he can help to bring about a larger share of what he wishes for his Government through the Republican party than through the Democratic party or by acting alone, then he should vote with that party and work for the attainment of those principles and those policies in which he differs from his party.

It is well that Independent party movements have been tried, if for no better reason than to show that they have been and probably ever will be failures. It is now time for all men to line up on one side or the other, and vote with that party which most nearly represents the majority of their principles and ideals. It is time that all men go to their party's caucuses and work for the best men as candidates for office, or as delegates to the convention which shall frame platforms and nominate men for the higher offices of our Government. Then let the majority rule for the time being, and if it rules well the party in power will continue in power. If it does not rule well, the opposition will come into power, to continue as long as it deserves the support of the majority of the voters.



APPENDIX.

REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESS—NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE
—AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE—HOME-MAR-
KET CLUB—McKINLEY'S LAST SPEECH—THE ELEPHANT
AND THE G. O. P.—TABLES, ETC.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESS.

THE following sketch of Republican journals, founded at or soon after the birth of the party, was prepared for this work by Charles M. Harvey, Associate Editor of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. Mr. Harvey is the author of a condensed history of the Republican party, a *Handbook of American Politics, a History of Missouri*, etc., and is a frequent contributor on political and sociological questions to the leading magazines.

When Horace Greeley, in the New York *Tribune* of June 16, 1854, said, "some simple name like Republican would more fitly [than Whig, Free Democratic or any other] designate those who have united to restore the Union to its true mission of champion and promulgator of liberty rather than propagandist of Slavery," he made the first suggestion contained in any prominent newspaper of the name which the new party of freedom was to bear. This was a little over two weeks after President Pierce had placed his signature on Senator Douglas's bill organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and giving Slavery an equal chance with Freedom in a locality from which Slavery had been excluded under the Missouri adjustment which had been in operation up to that time. It was nearly three weeks before the first official selection of the designation by any

large gathering anywhere in the country—the State Convention which met in Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854, organized the party in Michigan, adopted the Republican name, and placed a State ticket in the field which was elected in November.

At meetings of anti-Slavery men of all party faiths held at Ripon, Wisconsin, on February 28th and March 20, 1854, at which Alvan E. Bovay, a Whig, was the master spirit, Bovay said that a new party must be formed to combat Slavery extension; he named Republican as the title which he thought it ought to adopt, and he wrote to Greeley urging him to suggest this designation. The New York *Tribune* was at that time the most conspicuous Whig newspaper in the United States. Like all other intelligent observers, Bovay felt that it was from the Whigs of the North, whose party was unable to meet the issue which Douglas and Pierce had precipitated, and which consequently would have to dissolve, that the new political organization must get most of its strength if it was to win any elections. He was anxious to get Greeley, especially through the Weekly *Tribune*, which had a circulation of 120,000 copies, giving it more than 500,000 readers, in all parts of the free States, largely among the farmers, to stand sponsor for the title, which Greeley did on June 16th of that year.

From the outset the Republicans on their side had many of the ablest and best of the newspapers of the free States, and they had some support among the press of the border Slave section. At the outset, it was the newspapers of the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard which had the largest influence in directing and shaping the forces out of which the party was evolved. Greeley's assistant, Charles A. Dana; his neighbors, Henry J. Raymond of the *Times*, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin and John Bigelow of the *Evening Post*, James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and Henry Ward Beecher in the *Independent*, as well as Thurlow Weed in the Albany *Evening Journal*, soon entered the Republican ranks, although as a distinctive organization the party appeared in several States (Michigan, Wisconsin, Vermont, and others) earlier than it did in New York.

With a promptness and an intelligence characteristic of that State's newspapers in supporting reforms of all sorts, many influential Massachusetts journals became early champions of the Republican party. The most stalwart of these at the outset was the Boston *Atlas*, notwithstanding its blunder in publishing in 1856 the piece of misin-

formation communicated to it by its Washington correspondent that Fremont, the party's presidential candidate, was a Catholic. That paper's demise came soon afterward, though this mistake may not have hastened it. The old Federalist party which in its closing days had more generals than privates, had a counterpart in the Boston of 1850-60 in having more newspapers than the territory needed, and the *Atlas*, with others, was in 1857 merged in the *Traveller*. The *Advertiser*, the *Transcript*, and the *Journal*, all of which even at that time had several decades of history looking down upon them, were also among Boston's newspaper advocates of the Republican party in its formative days. As some of those papers had constituencies extending throughout New England and into the Middle States, they had a powerful influence in putting into concrete shape the anti-Slavery sentiment of the time. Among Boston's prominent journalistic workers of those days were Richard Worthington, John H. Eastburn, Charles Carleton Coffin, Charles T. Congdon, Dr. Joseph Palmer, and George H. Monroe.

The Worcester *Spy* and the Springfield *Republican* were early recruits in the Republican army. The latter journal, under the editorship of Samuel Bowles, was even at that time a newspaper of great influence, and Bowles was as well known as any American editor except Greeley. Phillips, Sampson & Company's *Atlantic Monthly*, established in 1857, the year of the Dred Scott decision, became, by its anti-Slavery contributions by Lowell and others, a great factor on the Republican side. Garrison's *Liberator*, born a quarter of a century before the Republican party, was too extreme to be accepted by Republicans as an exponent of party doctrine, but it was one of the sum of the influences that started the rising of the friends of freedom of which the Republican party was the outward expression.

Henry Chickering and Joseph E. A. Smith of the Berkshire County *Eagle*, at Pittsfield, Mass.; George G. Fogg of the *Independent Democrat*, at Concord, N. H., and Asa McFarland, of the *New Hampshire Statesman*, also of Concord, were among the other New England editors who did good work for the party in its early days.

John W. Forney's personal prominence made his Philadelphia *Press* the most conspicuous and powerful of Pennsylvania's Republican papers in the party's early days, but it was not among the first in its State to raise liberty's banner. Morton McMichael's *North Ameri-*

can of Philadelphia, Alexander K. McClure in the *Chambersburg Repository*, and a few papers in other parts of the State were earlier in the field. Forney was an active supporter of Buchanan in the campaign of 1856, established the *Press* in 1857, and broke from the Democracy when Buchanan attempted in 1858 to force the pro-Slavery Lecompton constitution upon Kansas against the will of a majority of its people. Pittsburg had three Republican editors of note in the party's opening days. These were J. Herron Foster of the *Dispatch*; C. D. Brigham of the *Commercial*, which was afterward consolidated with the *Gazette*; and Russell Errett of the *Gazette*. All of these, as well as Messrs. McClure and McMichael, were prominent in Keystone state politics. Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, published at Washington, in which Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared as a serial in 1851-53, was one of the best known and most influential of pioneer Republican editors.

Republican newspapers were promptly in the fight in the West, but they attracted less attention than did their co-workers on the Alleghany's sunrise side. The West's days of ascendancy in party and country had not yet dawned. It was the East that still gave the law to country and party. The States of the old Northwest Territory, consecrated to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787, had many Republican newspaper advocates long before the party won its first national victory. Among these were the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, the *Ohio State Journal* at the capital, the *Cleveland Leader*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Democrat*, the *Chicago Journal*, the *Indianapolis Journal*, the *Detroit Tribune*, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, while a little farther westward was the *St. Paul Pioneer*, one of the progenitors of the *Pioneer Press* of to-day; and on the Pacific coast, then more distant in time from New York and Boston than Manila is to-day, the *Portland Oregonian* and the *San Francisco Alta* and the *Bulletin* were preaching robust Republican doctrine.

The editors of some of those papers (William Schouler of the *Cincinnati Gazette* and also of the *State Journal* at Columbus, Joseph Medill of the *Cleveland Leader* and subsequently of the *Chicago Tribune*, "Long John" Wentworth of the *Chicago Democrat*, Murat Halstead, then coming to the front in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and others) took an active personal part in the organization and extension of the party. The *State Journal* on June 5,

1854, gave a hint as to the designation which it would like for the elements of the Anti-Nebraska coalition by saying that "we shall soon find a common name in the pure Republicanism of our subject." This was nearly three weeks before the New York *Tribune's* suggestion of a title for the party was published, but the *Tribune's* was more direct, and, of course, owing to that paper's greater prominence, its words attracted greater attention from the country at large. The Detroit *Tribune* published and called editorial notice to the call for the mass convention at Jackson, Michigan, at which Jacob M. Howard, Isaac P. Christiancy, Austin Blair, Zachariah Chandler, and their fellow delegates formally dedicated the Republican party.

Kansas furnished the issue on which the party was formed. During its territorial days (1854-61) it was on the Republican's "firing line." Representatives of some of the great Western papers, the best known of whom was Samuel F. Tappen, were with the first party of free State settlers which left under the auspices of Eli Thayer's Emigrant Aid Company, the company which rode out of Boston on July 17, 1854, singing one of Whittier's *Lays of the Kansas Emigrants*:

We cross the prairies as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.
We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's Southern line,
And plant beside the cotton tree
The rugged Northern pine.

All the important Republican newspapers of the country had correspondents on the ground during part of the struggle between the North and the South for the control of Kansas. Among these were Col. William A. Phillips, James Redpath, William Hutchinson, Samuel C. Smith, Horace White, Albert D. Richardson, Richard Realf, John Henry Kagi (killed at Harper's Ferry in 1859 in John Brown's raid), and others then or subsequently known to fame. They served the *Tribune* and *Times* of New York, the *Atlas*, the *Journal*, and the *Traveller* of Boston, the *Gazette* and the *Commercial* of Cincinnati, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Cleveland Leader*, and other

journals. Of the Kansas journals, Lawrence, the oldest of the territory's free-State settlements, furnished, in the evening days of 1855, George W. Brown's *Herald of Freedom*, John Speer's *Kansas Tribune*, and Robert G. Elliott and Josiah Miller's *Kansas Free State*. One of the best known of Kansas Republican editors of the territorial days and since was Daniel R. Anthony of the Leavenworth *Times*. John Brown himself, just before he left Kansas to prepare for his Harper's Ferry demonstration, did some newspaper writing in his "Parallels," contributed to the Lawrence *Republican*.

Not in the free States and Territories alone did the Republican party in its early days get able and courageous support from the press. Said Charles Robinson, the man who did more than any other single person to organize victory for the free State side in Kansas, and that State's first Governor, in writing long afterward of the work done for liberty in Kansas by the New York *Tribune* and other papers: "Equal in importance was the *Missouri Democrat*, published in the enemy's country. It is doubtful if Kansas could have been saved from the grasp of the invaders but for the hot shot poured into Atchison, Stringfellow and Company by this paper." The *Democrat*, which was one of the progenitors of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of the present day, was established in St. Louis by some of Thomas H. Benton's friends in 1852; was an enemy of Slavery extension from the beginning; became a Republican paper on the organization of the party in Missouri in 1857; and, through all its changes of name, proprietorship, and editorship, it has supported the party ever since. Through all the mutations in the territorial fight it had men—Redpath, Phillips, Tappen, Richard J. Hinton, and others—in Kansas to tell the story of the struggle. Among the *Missouri Democrat's* editors in the Republican party's early days was Benjamin Gratz Brown, a stalwart anti-Slavery and Union man, who was a leader in the Liberal Republican bolt of 1870-72, and who was that party's and the Democrats' nominee for Vice-President.

In the same metropolis of a slave State was another Republican paper—the *Westliche Post*, founded in 1857—which did valiant service for the party. Immediately after the Civil War Carl Schurz was one of that paper's editors, and one of his successors was and is Dr. Emil Pretorius. The German press, especially in the West, joined the party of freedom promptly. Of a list of German papers

compiled by the Cincinnati *Gazette*, in 1854, only eight favored the Kansas-Nebraska act while eighty were against it.

In Missouri's western end, at Kansas City, the *Journal*, founded in 1854, supported Douglas in 1860; but it was opposed to slavery extension from the start, came to the Republican party at the firing on Sumter in April, 1861, and has been a stalwart Republican newspaper ever since. Col. Robert T. Van Horn, who entered the army in 1861, and who was the *Journal's* editor from its early days until his retirement in 1896, served in the Missouri Legislature and in Congress for several years, and was for a generation a Republican leader of prominence.

Another slave State furnished a journal of pronounced Republicanism which was quoted often by the party's papers and statesmen in the North. This was the Wheeling *Intelligencer*, which, under the editorship of Archibald W. Campbell, struck telling blows for freedom in the party's formative days. Campbell and the *Intelligencer* were powerful factors in the fight for the Union in which the Old Dominion was rent and its western counties erected into a state under the title of West Virginia.

Among the scores of prominent Republican journals of to-day which made their advent since the first election of the party's first President, are the New York *Press*, the New York *Mail* (for many years and until recently the *Mail and Express*), the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, the St. Louis *Star*, the Springfield (Mass.) *Union*, the Minneapolis *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Dispatch*, the Denver *Republican*, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, and the San Francisco *Chronicle*.

After the Republican party began its work its newspapers became even more active in shaping its policy than they had been in founding it as an organization. Greeley wrote the platform of the first Republican convention held in New York in the latter part of the summer of 1854. Raymond, not yet willing to recognize that Whigism was on its deathbed, joined the new party in 1855, however, and was the author of the "Address to the American People," which was adopted unanimously by the Pittsburg convention of February 22-23, 1856, the first national gathering of the Republican party, Greeley, Redpath, and other prominent journalists also being members of that assemblage. Among the editors who were active in the nominating convention of a few months later, held at Philadelphia, which put up Fremont and Dayton, the party's first national ticket,

were John Bigelow and James Watson Webb. In the Lincoln-Douglas senatorial campaign in Illinois in 1858, which made Lincoln known outside of his State, Raymond and the *Times*, and also Greeley and the *Tribune*, and Bowles and the Springfield *Republican*, favored Douglas, but immediately afterward all three re-entered the Republican ranks.

Undoubtedly the New York *Tribune* had much influence on the course of the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1860. Greeley had turned against his old friends of the New York triumvirate, and in a letter written to Seward just after the election in November, 1854, announced the "dissolution of the political firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley by the withdrawal of the junior partner." The letter, however, was not published until 1860. Seward and Weed said the letter was incited by Greeley's assumption that they had thrown obstacles in the way of his desire for public office. His letter shows he felt that they had not recognized his claims on his party in that direction, especially as Raymond, his rival, had obtained the Whig nomination for lieutenant-governor in 1854. Long before the convention of 1860 met, the *Tribune*, which was by far the most powerful exponent of Republican doctrine in the country, began its opposition to Seward as an aspirant to the candidacy, which course Greeley himself said, and most persons believe, was due to his opinion that Seward could not be elected. Greeley favored Edward Bates of Missouri. This break in the Seward column in Seward's own quarter of the country gave hope to all the other aspirants, and aided in obtaining for Lincoln the invitation from the Young Men's Central Republican Union of New York City under which he delivered the Cooper Institute address of February 27, 1860, which gave Lincoln that formal introduction to the East that told strongly in his favor when the contest came a few months later. Shut out by Seward's friends from all chance to get to the convention as a delegate from his own State, Greeley received a proxy from an absentee Oregon delegate, and, in the convention, his influence powerfully aided that of Andrew G. Curtin and Henry S. Lane, the nominees for Governor in Pennsylvania and Indiana, respectively, in turning the tide against Seward and in nominating Lincoln.

During the war all the Republican papers gave hearty support to the Government, but just before hostilities began Greeley was inclined to take Gen. Scott's view to "let the wayward sisters depart

in peace." After the war began, however, Greeley urged its prosecution with the utmost vigor, and his "Forward to Richmond" editorial, repeated in many issues of his paper, which he personally did not write, but for which he, as editor, was responsible, hastened the advance which ended in the Bull Run disaster of 1861. His open letter to Lincoln in 1862, published on the *Tribune's* editorial page, and entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," pleading for immediate emancipation, embarrassed the administration, although Lincoln had already decided on that course, and was waiting for a Union victory, which Antietam furnished a month afterward, to heighten its moral effect. A few Republican papers, including the *New York Evening Post*, *Independent*, and *Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Gazette*, then edited by Richard Smith, were opposed to Lincoln's candidacy in 1864 on the ground that he lacked vigor and was distrusted by the masses of the Union people, but after his renomination they supported the ticket.

But the unity among the Republican journals, as among Republican statesmen, began to be shaken soon after the war closed, and when the question of the restoration of the South to its old relations to the rest of the country came up. Drawn from all the old parties (Whig, Democratic, Free-Soil, and Know-Nothing), representing all sorts of views on States' rights, the Tariff, and other issues, and held in harmony only by hostility to Slavery and devotion to the Union, divergences were inevitable as soon as Appomattox and the Thirteenth Amendment removed these menaces.

The *New York Times* and a few other Republican papers supported President Johnson in his fight with the Republican Congress on the Reconstruction question (they "Johnsonized," in the phrase of the day). Raymond, at the National Union Convention in Philadelphia in 1866 (the "arm-in-arm" convention, in which delegates from South Carolina and Massachusetts entered arm-in-arm), sustained Johnson, and wrote the address to the American people. For this act he was promptly removed from the Republican National Committee, of which he had been a leading spirit, and was read out of the party, but the *Times* resumed its old connection with the Republicans a few years later.

The Liberal Republican schism of 1872 drew far more newspapers out of the party than did the Johnson bolt. This originated in Missouri, and had among its leaders Benjamin Gratz Brown, a former editor of the *Missouri Democrat* and an ex-United States

Senator; William M. Grosvenor, who was editor of the *Democrat* at that time, but who was soon afterward removed; and Carl Schurz, who had just retired from the editorship of the St. Louis *Westliche Post* on his election to the Senate by the Republicans. At the Liberal Republican National Convention in Cincinnati in 1872 Schurz was chairman, Grosvenor was active in support of the cause, and Whitelaw Reid of the New York *Tribune*, Samuel Bowles of the Springfield *Republican*, Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune*, and Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, were influential in nominating Greeley and Brown. Grosvenor, Schurz, Bryant of the New York *Evening Post*, and other editors or ex-editors prominent in the movement were opposed to the selection of Greeley, but they supported the ticket. Nearly all those papers were back with the Republicans, shortly afterward.

There has been no break in the *Tribune's* stalwart Republicanism since 1874, when it returned to the party. The *Times*, strengthened by its leadership in the overthrow of the Tweed junta in 1871-72, went to the front place for the time among the Republican journals of the country. But its potency of the Civil War days, when it was looked upon as Lincoln's especial organ, did not return. With the death of Greeley, Raymond, and Bowles, with the broadening of newspaper activities and the growth of the news features and the shrinkage of the editorial page in relative importance, the age of personal journalism is over, and no editors again in America can fill the place in the popular imagination that those personages held.

With practically every Republican newspaper supporting the ticket in 1876 and 1880, there was a return to the harmony of 1854-66, but this unison was broken in 1884 by the nomination of Blaine by the Republicans and of Cleveland by the Democracy. The New York *Times*, the New York *Evening Post*, *Harper's Weekly*, the Boston *Herald*, the Springfield *Republican*, and many other prominent papers which had been on the Republican side in previous years bolted Blaine and went to Cleveland. All the papers here named leaned toward Free Trade. They had been against the Republican Tariff policy, though supporting its national tickets. The Tariff was an issue of considerable moment in 1884.

But Civil Service Reform and general purity in politics were the principal causes which those papers said swayed them in bolting the Republican ticket. All of them had favored the nomination of

Edmunds. Most of them would have accepted Arthur, who had in 1883 signed the Pendleton act, which the assassination of Garfield by a disappointed and demented office-seeker had put through Congress. Arthur put this act in operation, and had enforced it as vigorously and as intelligently as was possible at the outset in the reform. They feared, they intimated, that under Blaine this law would be either repealed or nullified. As Mayor of Buffalo and as Governor of New York, Cleveland met their ideas on this point, hence they turned to him. Their support of him undoubtedly was a large factor in the canvass. It did much to end the quarter of a century of uninterrupted Republican sway and to elect the only Democrat who has gone to the White House since Buchanan.

Through Cleveland's two presidential terms and three canvasses all the seceding Republican papers of 1884 continued their support of the Democratic ticket, but in the party disintegrations and realignments of the McKinley-Bryan campaign of 1896 nearly all of them returned to the Republican side, without, however, acknowledging any change in their status as independents. With them into the Republican alliance in the same year came many Democratic papers; some, like the *New York Sun*, which, formerly Republican, had been stalwart champions of Democracy for many years; and others which, like the *Brooklyn Eagle*, had been Democratic without interruption since their establishment. The *Sun*, which went to the Democracy just before Dana's old associate Greeley was drawn into the coalition with that party in 1872, developed into a robustly Republican journal before McKinley's first term ended. Meanwhile, the regular Republican journals were and are largely on the increase in number and influence.

"With all the newspapers of the country against us," exclaimed William J. Bryan at the close of his campaign of 1896, and this was just as true of 1900, "our 6,500,000 votes is a vindication of which we have a right to be proud." This massing of the bulk of the great newspapers of the United States on its side, even though most of the Democratic journals have returned to their old affiliations since, is a striking tribute to the courage, sanity, and progressiveness of the Republican party.

The National Republican Editorial Association of the United States, comprising affiliated societies from many communities (New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Vir-

ginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and other States), which held its first convention in 1900 in Washington, D. C., of which Col. John A. Sleicher, editor of *Leslie's Weekly*, has been president from the beginning, and A. O. Bunnell, editor of the Dansville (N. Y.) *Advertiser*, was and is secretary, has done and is doing a great work by bringing the powerful Republican journals all over the country into co-operation, and in establishing harmonious relations between the press and the party leaders at the capitals of the nation and of the different States.

In connection with the influence of Republican journals during the year 1854, reference should be made to the leading article in the September, 1854, number of *Putnam's Monthly* under the caption, "Our Parties and Politics." It was unsigned, but is known to have been written by the late Parke Godwin, then editor of the magazine. After a most exhaustive exposition of the tenets of existing parties, and a clear enunciation of the situation that must accompany Slavery expansion, the article concludes as follows:

Nebraska and Kansas will be slave States if slave-holders go there, and they will be free States if freemen go there, and this is the long and short of the matter; let the soil woo and the climate smile encouragement upon whom it pleases. If the American people do not now—on the instant—rescue those lands to freedom, it is in vain that they will hereafter look to Nature or any other influences for their salvation.

We are, indeed, so far from being persuaded that it is not meant to take slavery into our new territories, that we begin to entertain the conviction, that the propagandists of the South, will not stop even with the territories. It is imputed to them, by authorities entitled to respect, that they cherish a policy which aims, not merely at its establishment within the limits of all the new States, but at the consolidation of it, by foreign conquests. We know that a movement has long been on foot in California for its legalization there; we know that Texas is considered as the nucleus of three or four slave-holding sovereignties; we know that schemes, open and secret, are prosecuted for the acquisition of Cuba, before Cuba shall have

emancipated her blacks, as it is alleged she intends to do; we know that eager grasping eyes are set on Mexico; we know, that a Senator has called for the withdrawal of our naval squadron from the coast of Africa, that the slave-trade may be pursued in greater safety; we know that another Senator has broached the recognition of the Dominican republic, with an ulterior view to its annexation; and, we are told, that overtures have been made to Brazil for co-operation in the ultimate establishment of a vast slave-holding confederacy to the South. Of course, some of these designs are still in the gristle; they are not participated in by the judicious men of any section; but the remote conception of them should be monitory and waken us to vigilance. It is one of the dangers as well as glories, of this nation, that its plans are executed with the rapidity of magnetism. A thought is scarcely a thought before it becomes a deed. We scorn delays; we strike and parley afterwards; we actualize the dreams of the old philosophers, and impart to our abstract ideas an instant creative energy. The fact, then, that such comprehensive schemes of pro-Slavery expansion, gain admittance into active minds, nay, that they are said to burrow in those of men of eminent station, should beget a timely and jealous watchfulness against their least beginnings. The meanest political swindle, which appeals to the avarice, the prejudice, and the restlessness of large numbers of men, may bear in its belly as foul a progeny of evils as were harboured by the Dragon of Wantley,—and how dangerous, then, how pregnant and prolific may be even the germs of plans which embrace immense and complicated interests, and look to the dismemberment and control of empires! . . .

We have dwelt upon the proceedings of the pro-Slavery party so long, that we have left ourselves little space for urging upon other parties their duties in the crises. But we will not speak to them as parties. We will say to them as Americans, as freemen, as Christians, that the time has arrived when all divisions and animosities should be laid aside, in order to rescue this great, this beautiful, this glorious land from a hateful domination. As it now is, no man who expresses, however moderately, a free opinion of the slave-system of the South, is allowed to hold any office of profit or trust, under the General Government. No man can be President, no man a foreign minister, no man a tide-waiter, even, or the meanest scullion in the federal kitchen, who has not first bowed down and eaten the dirt of adherence to slavery. Oh! shameless debasement,

—that under a Union formed for the establishment of liberty and justice,—under a Union born of the agonies and cemented by the blood of our parents,—a Union whose mission it was to set an example of republican freedom, and commend it to the panting nations of the world, we freemen of the United States, should be suffocated by politicians into a silent acquiescence with despotism! That we should not dare to utter the words or breathe the aspirations of our fathers, or propagate their principles, on pain of ostracism and political death! just Heaven! into what depths of infamy and insensibility have we fallen!

We repeat that until the sentiment of slavery is driven back to its original bounds, to the States to which it legitimately belongs, the people of the North are vassals. Yet their emancipation is practicable if not easy. They have only to evince a determination to be free, and they are free. They are to discard all past alliances, to put aside all present fears, to dread no future coalitions, in the single hope of carrying to speedy victory a banner inscribed with these devices: THE REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW,—THE RESTORATION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE,—NO MORE SLAVE STATES,—NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORIES,—THE HOMESTEAD FOR FREE MEN ON THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The article from which the above is taken caused much comment throughout the country, and in a few weeks the publishers of *Putnam's Monthly* received a most comprehensive reply under the caption:

OUR PARTIES AND POLITICS.

Audi alteram partem.

A SOUTHERNER'S VIEW OF THE SUBJECT.

After no little hesitancy it was decided to print the article in full. It is not known to-day who was the writer. The conclusion of the reply follows:

We have endeavored to discuss this question calmly and philosophically; and to the sober reason of our readers—to the calm

thinkers of the North—we appeal. What good has been accomplished and what good may be accomplished by this war against us? As for the evil it may yet evoke, no man can anticipate its extent. It should be enough for every patriot and every Christian to know that in this matter is involved the perpetuity of the American Union. There is no room for concealment or disguise. In no spirit of idle gasconade—in no ebullition of temporary passion—but in the sullen sternness of deliberate and calculated purpose, the South protests her high resolve. No apparent excitement pervades the masses of her people. Upon the Nebraska question she maintained, throughout, an unusual silence. Not loud in its expression, but deep and strong is the feeling that animates her masses. With the intensest interest they gaze from a distance on your fields of political strife, and await the result in anxious suspense. The issue is now fairly joined, and fidelity to the Republic admits of no neutrality. Abolition hangs boldly out her banner, inscribed with these treasonable devices:—THE REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—THE RESTORATION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—NO MORE SLAVE STATES—NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORIES. Under its folds are rallying an imposing array. 'T is idle to close the eye to the peril of the day. Sectionalism is arming for a struggle of life or death. No sane man imagines that success, in any of her designs, is consistent with the stability of the Union. When the North shall repudiate her constitutional obligations, by repealing an act to carry into effect one of the fundamental provisions of the Constitution—when the defunct restrictive policy of excluding us and ours from the common territory of the Union shall be revived—when the covenant with Texas shall be ignored—and the hand of fellowship be refused to an incipient State, unless she rejects our social polity—when thus a circle of fire is forming around us, and the preponderance of the hireling States to an extent sufficient to amend the Constitution, and invest the Federal Government with control over our institutions—ensured at no distant day—when all, or either of these events shall occur, the time for separation will have more than arrived. If upon them or either of them our Northern brethren are madly bent, we had better part, while we may part in peace. “Let there be no strife between our people and your people, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before us? Separate yourselves from us. Go you to the North, and we will go to the South.”

But we are not despondent. Our confidence in the ultimate decision of the Northern masses is still unshaken. There is too much of sound and practical sense in this Union to permit a sentimental abstraction to shiver it into fragments. In the sober second thought of the yeomanry of the land, is its hope, and will be its salvation. The Old Guard is up and doing. Strong in the inherent justice of their cause, they gather themselves once more to throttle the demon of discord. With unwavering step, in the confident expectation of certain triumph, they press boldly onward, bearing in the advance the time-honored banner of the Republic, radiant with the gathered glories of the past, and suggestive of still more unfading glory in the future, emblazoned with the simple, but august device—THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION!

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE. PREPARED FOR THIS
WORK BY ITS PRESIDENT, J. HAMPTON MOORE
OF PHILADELPHIA

“To advance and maintain the principles of the Republican party, earnestly, aggressively and perpetually,” may be set down briefly as the aim and purpose of the National League of Republican Clubs.

This organization sprang into existence when the advisability of arousing the young men of the country appealed to the great party leaders when James G. Blaine was an active figure in the politics of the nation.

The first meeting was held in Chickering Hall, New York City, December 15, 1887. A series of annual conventions, since giving way to conventions bi-annually, followed in this order:

February 28, 1889, Baltimore, Maryland.

March 4, 1890, Nashville, Tennessee.

April 23, 1891, Cincinnati, Ohio.

September 16, 1892, Buffalo, New York.

May 10, 1893, Louisville, Kentucky.

June 26, 1894, Denver, Colorado.

June 19, 1895, Cleveland, Ohio.

August 25, 1896, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

July 15, 1897, Detroit, Michigan.

July 13, 1898, Omaha, Nebraska.

July 16, 1900, St. Paul, Minnesota.

October 2 and 3, 1902, Chicago, Illinois.

The various Presidents of the League have been as follows:

James P. Foster, New York.

John M. Thurston, Nebraska.

James S. Clarkson, Iowa.

William W. Tracy, Illinois.

Edwin A. McAlpin, New York.

D. D. Woodmansee, Ohio.

George Stone, California.

Isaac Miller, Illinois.

J. Hampton Moore, Pennsylvania.

At conventions of the League it has been customary for the Presidents and Officers to submit reports bearing upon the work of the organization, to provide for the appointment of standing Committees, the filling of vacancies, the determination of contests, the consideration of ways and means for promoting campaigns, the encouragement of club organization and the general furtherance of business conducive to the growth of the National body.

Immediately after the convention in Chicago, October, 1902, an effort was made to obtain complete returns from the various State Leagues in order to prepare for the campaign of 1904. The data thus far received, while not complete, is sufficient to show that the National League will be prepared with its affiliated clubs, to go into battle with more than half a million accredited members. Before the campaign is over, if the plans of the present officers do not miscarry, this membership will be duplicated, if not trebled.

Since the convention of 1902 efforts have been put forth with much success to place the League on terms of pleasant relationship with the President of the United States and the Chairman of the National Republican Committee. In each instance the work has been signally encouraged. True, in some States the older leaders look with disfavor upon the advance made by League workers, but as the policy of the present administration is becoming understood the lines of dissatisfaction are being eliminated. Thus far the League has worked in harmony with the laws of the Republican

party. National officers have signified their purpose to act as an auxiliary and not as a rival of the National Republican Committee.

In accordance with the manifest good-will now established between the regular Republican Committee and the National Republican League, an official reminder was sent out from League Headquarters in October, 1902, announcing the endorsement of the Chicago Convention by those high in Republican councils and inviting the broad-gauge co-operation of State and Territorial Leagues to animate Republican workers everywhere for the success of the party and its candidates. Special reference was also paid to elections in Congressional Districts, the importance of which, from a Republican point of view, need not be enlarged upon. Many other addresses upon this line have gone to League workers and a perceptible increase in activity has followed each venture in the field of suggestion.

Requests for information and constitutional recognition have come to Headquarters and in every instance received prompt answer. All sections of the country, owing to some pardonable confusion with regard to names and addresses, may not have been reached up to date, but repeated effort by direct communication has finally established a representation in every State and Territory of the Union. Blank returns forwarded to the various State Leagues for the purpose of bringing the records up to date have been returned with some satisfactory information indicating the great importance of League work in many of the States and pointing out those in which apathy and indifference existed. This data has been collated and is being added to daily, so that early in 1904 the National League will be afoot and in the saddle prepared to wake the dormant voters and encourage the youth of the country to come into its active political service.

The Executive Committee meeting of the League held in Chicago, October, 1903, was one of the most satisfactory in its history. Reports presented there from all the States, showed a revival of activity and a desire to "stand pat" on Republican principles throughout the country.

In December a special Committee of the League appeared before the National Committee at its annual meeting in Washington, and placed itself at the service of the cause, receiving the hearty approval of National Chairman Hanna and being accorded high

honor subsequently by President Roosevelt at the Executive Mansion.

The slogan of the League in 1904 will be "the maintenance of Republican supremacy." For this it will agitate and organize; it will endeavor to arouse the indifferent voter and bring him back to a sense of his responsibility to the party that has made the nation great; it will labor directly with the first voters and the young men who are waiting for an opportunity to be recognized as political factors. That its services will be needed in every State and Territory is evident.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEAGUE. A BRIEF HISTORY BY
ANDREW B. HUMPHREY, SECRETARY 1887-1892

The gray-haired veterans in politics will recall with glowing enthusiasm the memorable campaign of 1840, with the old songs of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," the log cabin, the cider barrel and the raccoon. Every community had its temporary political organization at that time. Partisan lines were closely drawn, and with song and banners the Tippecanoe clubs marched to victory. There have been Prohibition societies, Abolition societies, Free Soil, Anti-Slavery societies, Copperheads, Knights of the Golden Circle, Ku Klux Klans and Shot Gun clubs. It is unnecessary to point out on which side of the humanity line these various organizations were ranged. The real beginning of what may be called the present Republican League movement may be said to have received its first impulse in the widespread organization which sprung up to the call of Abraham Lincoln, known as the Wide-Awakes of 1860, the Boys in Blue; and the invaluable services of the Union League of New York to the country in its darkest hours should not be forgotten in making up the honor roll of Republican patriots. These organizations aroused the sentiment of the country to a wonderful degree, and their influence upon the young men particularly had a marked influence in filling up the ranks of the Republican party and giving it such great strength and power in the country's time of need. The great moral issues for the perpetuation of the Union and the non-extension of slavery appealed to the patriotic sentiment of the young men and fixed their political convictions for all time. In fact, the stalwart Republican sentiment of the country to-day has been perpetuated by the Union soldiers and the young men who marched

with the Boys in Blue in the campaign clubs of '60 and '64. When the questions involved in the Civil War became matters of constitutional law, it was but natural that the enthusiastic and patriotic Republican sentiment should subside somewhat. The natural reaction came in 1872, when sentimentalism led many good men away from the Republican party and through a misconceived idea of generosity turned them toward the Democratic party, always standing with open arms to receive every element of discontent which it can utilize to strengthen its own ranks, whether the recruits be for good or evil purposes. The close election of 1876 illustrates the gradual losses to the Republican party of our new blood and the cunning craft of the Democratic party in utilizing the elements of discontent that always develop within the ranks of every victorious party. The fierce contest of 1880 again demonstrated the necessity of an infusion of new blood into the Republican party, as did the still fiercer and bitter controversy of 1884, when the Republicans honestly elected James G. Blaine, but were cheated out of the Presidency by the introduction into New York of that *finesse* of political deviltry known as the "Southern method" of counting Butler votes for Cleveland. The shot-gun policy in the South, together with the Tissue ballot and other refined Southern methods, coupled with sentimentalism in the North, caused the abandonment of the Republican party in the South.

The men who so grandly came to the front in the '60's were dying off and the new generation forgot the terrible lessons of those days. With these facts in view, the Republican Club of New York began, as far back as 1879, an effort to arouse the young men of the State of New York to a sense of their political duties in the State campaigns and to offset the Mugwumpian influences that were then at work to defeat Alonzo B. Cornell for the Governorship. The officers of the club at that time did what they could to extend the organization of young men's clubs in every direction for the specific purposes of that campaign and they succeeded to a considerable degree. The idea of constant campaigning was fixed in the minds of members of the club during the years intervening up to and including 1884, and in 1885 the Republican Club of New York was launched upon its present successful career, being reorganized for the purpose of exerting a wider influence, and with a view to permanency and efficiency. In 1884 the club appointed a committee on what was called "Associate Organizations." Some effective work was

done in a quiet way, but not until the winter of '86-'87 did the plan mature. At this time the club appointed a special committee of five, consisting of Joseph Pool, Chairman; Henry Gleason, Secretary; James A. Blanchard, Edward T. Bartlett, and Joseph Ulman, who undertook this club-work and gathered a list of all the Republican clubs of the country for the purpose of mutual co-operation. It was found that there were probably less than one hundred Republican clubs in the country that could be called permanent. It was then that the committee and the Republican Club of the City of New York decided to issue a call for a National Convention of delegates from all the clubs formed, and that could be formed, for the purpose of consolidating them into a national organization. A call was issued for a national convention, and other clubs were organized throughout the country, until some 350 sent delegates to a convention held in Chickering Hall in the City of New York on the 15th, 16th and 17th of December, 1887. This was, perhaps, one of the most remarkable political conventions ever held. It included men of all ages and political opinions, but all agreed in one purpose, namely, that the Republican party must be restored to power. Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of Ohio, since Secretary of State, was temporary chairman of that convention. (Mr. Ryan was also the first President of the League of Republican Clubs of the State of Ohio, organized in 1886, which was the first State League organized in the United States. The credit of organizing this first State League is largely due to the personal efforts of Mr. James Boyle, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*.) Hon. William M. Evarts was made permanent chairman of the Chickering Hall convention. About 1500 delegates were present, representing twenty-three States and Territories, and for three days conducted their proceedings with continuous and increasing enthusiasm. The National League was there formed. Mr. James P. Foster, President of the Republican Club of New York at that time, was made its first President. The selection of Secretary and Treasurer was left to the Executive Committee.

The objects of the League, as stated in the constitution, were "to encourage and assist in the formation of permanent Republican clubs and State leagues, and to unite such leagues and clubs for effective work, and to generally advance the principles of the Republican party." The constitution also provided for an annual convention of representatives of each State league and an executive

committee, consisting of one representative from each State organization, which committee was to have the general management of the affairs of the League when the convention was not in session, and also to have control of all the funds of the League and general supervision of the organizations composing the League, with the powers of the convention, when the convention was not in session, and with power to extend the organization of clubs to every city, town and county in the United States, acting through the various State leagues as far as possible and with authority to review their action or overrule it if deemed advisable. The great fear of this organization at the time was that it would interfere with the regular party machinery of the country and that rivalries and jealousies and discords would be the result of the formation of clubs. In order that there might be no misunderstanding, and that the idea might go forth that the League was not to be used as a machine for the personal interest of candidates, a clause was put in the constitution as follows: "This League shall not, in any manner, endeavor to influence the action of any National, State, county or municipal convention, nor shall it indicate as a League any preference for any candidate before any political convention, nor shall it, as a League recommend any person as an applicant for any official position."

The convention adopted a strong platform which set the pace for the memorable campaign of 1888. It rehearsed the achievements of the Republican party and appealed to the young men to profit by the lessons of history. The following is a sample of one resolution, namely: "From the earliest organization of the Republican party it has appealed to the highest and noblest impulses of human nature. It has devoted itself to the education of the masses of the people, holding that an intelligent knowledge of our political institutions is needful to the full exercise of the duties of citizenship. Where the people are kings they must know how to govern. The Republicans have, also, from the first, been animated by the sacred fires of human liberty, and have persisted in demanding its extension to every human being within the national jurisdiction. As fruits of their courage and devotion to this great cause, they point to the millions now emancipated, and to the complete removal from our flag of the accursed stain of Slavery."

The resolutions referred to three causes, next to Slavery, dear to the Democratic heart, and branded Polygamy, Ignorance and Intemperance, as the "Triplets of Barbarism." The convention took

strong grounds for a Protective Tariff and against the Free Trade message of President Cleveland. It declared also for an honest ballot and a fair count, and took up in detail the different hypocrisies of the Democratic administration and handled them without gloves. The convention adjourned amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, and the fifteen hundred delegates returned to their various States and immediately began to extend the work of club organization to every village, town and hamlet. As an illustration of the enthusiastic work of that winter, the Republican Leaguers of Minnesota called a convention in the month of March, when the blizzards were raging and the thermometer indicated many degrees below zero, yet so great was their enthusiasm that one of the largest conventions was held and hundreds of clubs responded. The same was true generally throughout the West and Northwest; State after State wheeled into line and the League organization grew with wonderful rapidity. The enthusiasm and aggressiveness of this new force in politics became contagious, and long before the Republican National Convention met in June at Chicago, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, there was a solid League front from ocean to ocean. From the small beginning of one hundred clubs in 1887, there were organized and at work seven thousand Republican clubs by the first day of June, 1888. These clubs had held frequent political meetings. The Free-Trade message of President Cleveland, with the ringing reply of James G. Blaine flashed across the sea from Paris, aroused the young men to such activity that by the time the National Convention met to form its platform in Chicago, every phase of the campaign issues had been discussed from one end of the country to the other and the young men had had ample time to riddle the heresies of the sophists and array facts against theories. It is not necessary here to go into the details of the work of the League in 1888.

It is sufficient to say that, up to election day, 1888, some ten thousand Republican clubs were established throughout the country with a membership of over a million actual voters. These men were unusually enthusiastic. They felt a personal interest in the success of their club-work and of the party's triumph. They worked early and late without salaries, expended their money freely in holding meetings, distributing literature, opening club rooms, providing entertainments, equipping first-voters' clubs, canvassing election precincts, registering voters, naturalizing citizens, getting out voters on election

day, and in many cases covered shady election precincts with watchers to see that no frauds were perpetrated in the count. All this was done by the volunteer soldiers of the Republican party as supplementary to the work of the regular party organization and in addition to the usual machinery. In almost all cases it was done without friction, without jealousy and with satisfactory results. One of the best compliments paid to the work of the League in 1888 was from a national leader in the Democratic party, who said: "We could watch the movements of the Republican National, State and County Committees, but we could not keep track of and counteract the influence of the d——d Republican League Clubs. They were everywhere and always at work and in close contact with the individual voters. Their club-work was thoroughly done before the Democrats were aware of its magnitude and power." A prominent member of Tammany Hall also said that there were "only two complete political organizations in the country, namely, Tammany Hall and the Republican League." Mark the difference between the two organizations. Tammany Hall has been well described as an "organized appetite for spoils." It derives its income from assessments and sources which even the hardy chieftains of the inner circle would not care to make public. It exists for plunder, and the closeness of its organization, together with the mystery of its secret oath-bound society and the absolutism of its Boss, make it a terror to tax-payers and business men and a power among the vicious and ignorant. The Republican League organization, on the other hand, is a volunteer army, having no income except that which comes with a free hand; expends no money which cannot be accounted for publicly, openly, in any presence or in any court. It is, in fact, an organization of, for and by the people in the truest sense. There is no boss big enough to run it or divert it from its legitimate work or to use it for personal aims.

It has been customary in the political campaigns of the United States to disband the campaign organizations immediately after each Presidential election. The fact that the Republican League clubs were permanently organized and realized that their work was just as essential after election as before, well illustrates the principle of the League. Many of the smaller and weaker clubs of 1888 succumbed temporarily because of the heavy expenses incurred during the campaign. Others consolidated and formed larger and stronger organizations. Many purchased, built or rented club houses similar

to those in Harlem, New York, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Minneapolis, etc., and the organization has been kept together with National Headquarters open since 1887, and the work has gone on vigorously. The National League held its Second Annual Convention in Baltimore, Md., on the 28th of February, 1889, and there was no abating of enthusiasm or diminution of interest. Hon. John M. Thurston was elected as President of the League. That convention mapped out and planned its continuous campaign under its original motto of "Organization and Education."

It adjourned to meet in Nashville, Tenn., on March 4, 1890, where, with "Old Glory" at the front and with Republican banners unfurled, thousands of enthusiastic Republicans marched the streets playing alternately, for the education and consolation of our Bourbon friends, "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixey." A large train-load of delegates swung around northern Alabama into Chattanooga singing the patriotic songs that belong so exclusively to the Grand Old Party. When business men will leave their affairs and homes to come from such distant points as California, Texas and Florida, paying their own expenses and giving their time to attend a convention of this character solely to promote the interests and perpetuate the policies of the Republican party, it indicates the strength of the League movement and its hold upon the people. The League now has a working organization in every Northern State and Territory. It has strong organizations in some of the Southern States, and hopes to render material service there by rebuilding the crushed and abandoned Republican party in the South. It will attract law-abiding citizens and aid in the removal of prejudice.

The Republican party has not had its share of recruits from the colleges in recent years owing to the Free-Trade teachings of college professors and Mugwump influences. The National League has encouraged the idea of forming college Republican clubs in the various educational institutions of the country. The present active College League movement is one of the best indications of the revival in the Republican party, and it has grown with marvellous rapidity. The American Republican College League was organized at Michigan University on May 15, 1892, by representatives from some forty colleges. James Francis Burke, of Michigan University, was made President, and James M. Perkins, of Harvard, Secretary.

The League believes in clean politics. Its motto is "Organization and Education," and its hope for the perpetuation of popular government is based upon the intelligence of the people, and its reliance is upon the rostrum and the patriotic public press. It believes in the eternal justice of its cause and the ultimate triumph of its principles. It believes in the ability of the Republican party to meet and master every coming issue of vital interest to the progress and prosperity of our country. The League does not stop its work when election is over, but marches on to other victories and triumphs for the party that best represents progress, prosperity, morality, intelligence and patriotism.

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE. BY ITS
TREASURER AND GENERAL SECRETARY, W. F. WAKEMAN

As early as 1880, many prominent Protectionists advocated the establishment of a national organization which should be devoted to the policy of Protection to American labor and industry. It was not until after the campaign of 1884 that the plans were matured, which resulted in the organization of the American Protective Tariff League. The organization was incorporated on May 25, 1885, as explained by the certificate of incorporation, the material facts of which were as follows:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, a majority of whom are citizens and residents of the State of New York, being of full age, and desiring to form ourselves into a society for political and patriotic purposes pursuant to the provisions of law in such case made and provided, hereby certify as follows, viz.:

That the name or title by which said Society shall be known in law, is, "The American Protective Tariff League."

That the particular business and object of such Society will be to advocate and uphold a National Tariff policy which shall "protect American labor by a tariff on imports which shall adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor."

That the number of Managers to manage the same shall be twenty, and the names of the Managers for the first year of its existence, are:

Le Grand B. Cannon, Edward H. Ammidown, Smith M. Weed, William P. Shinn, George Draper, Cornelius N. Bliss, Arthur W. Soper, William A. Ingham, P. C. Cheney, David Harpster, Edwin A. Hartshorn, Henry T. Cook, Oliver Williams, Theodore M. Ives, Henry B. Metcalf, Edward M. Knox, William Strange, Charles H. Cramp, Levi L. Brown, and George H. Ely.

That the principal office of such company shall be located in the City and State of New York.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto signed our names and affixed our seals this 25th day of May, in the year 1885.

LeGrand B. Cannon, Wm. A. Ingham, deB. Randolph Kreim, William P. Shinn, Edward H. Ammidown, Alfred R. Whitney, Morris M. Budlong.

The object of the American Protective Tariff League is described in its Constitution, adopted in 1885, as follows:

The object of this League shall be to protect American labor by a tariff on imports, which shall adequately secure American industrial products against the competition of foreign labor.

The Tariff League has been in active operation every business day since its organization. The following well-known Protectionists have served as President of the organization:

1886-1891, Edward H. Ammidown.

1891-1898, Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss.

1898-1901, Hon. W. L. Strong.

1901-1904, Hon. Charles A. Moore.

The present officers, Executive Committee, and Board of Managers are as follows:

Charles A. Moore, President.

Augustus G. Paine, First Vice-President.

Joseph E. Thropp, Second Vice-President.

Wilbur F. Wakeman, Treasurer and General Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

William Barbour, chairman, of New Jersey; Frank W. Cheney of Connecticut, Franklin Murphy of New Jersey, David L. Einstein of New York, William F. Draper of Massachusetts.

BOARD OF MANAGERS

Class of 1905.—Calvin Wells of Pennsylvania, James Phillips, Jr., of Massachusetts, D. M. Ferry of Michigan, A. J. Cordier of New York, Homer Laughlin of California.

Class of 1906.—Le Grand B. Cannon of Vermont, A. R. Wilson of New York, Henry McCall of Louisiana, Lyman B. Goff of Rhode Island, Robert W. Tayler of Ohio.

Class of 1907.—J. F. Hanson of Georgia, Charles A. Moore of New York, Theodore Justice of Pennsylvania, William Barbour of New Jersey, Charles E. Coffin of Maryland.

Class of 1908.—Frank W. Cheney of Connecticut, William F. Draper of Massachusetts, A. D. Juilliard of New York, Theo. M. Ives of New York, Joseph E. Thropp of Pennsylvania.

The Tariff League confines its efforts in favor of Protection very largely to the preparation, publication, and distribution of standard literature favoring a protective Tariff. In its operations, the Tariff League publishes the *American Economist*, about seventy different documents, and two text-books.

Possibly the most extensive work of the organization is that of supplying Protection matter to auxiliary publishers. Over fifty-four hundred local newspapers enjoy this service. The Tariff League has 816 members, two thousand local correspondents. In the last year, it distributed about seventeen million pages of Tariff literature. In the last National campaign, the distribution amounted to over four hundred million pages of printed matter.

Mr. Wakeman has, in the years during which he has been connected with the Tariff League, been indefatigable in his labor for the promulgation of Protective literature and the success of the Republican party in national, State, and congressional elections. The completeness of system and organization which accompanies the work of the League, and which is due to the efforts of Mr. Wakeman, renders possible a vast amount of work, not only during a campaign, but throughout the quiet weeks and months between the exciting election periods. The work of the Tariff League during the past fifteen years, largely under the supervision of Mr. Wakeman, has been inestimable in furthering the cause of Protection and the welfare of the Republican party by which the cause is endorsed and advocated.

Especial mention should be made of the dissemination of Protective Tariff literature among the young men, particularly those who will cast their first votes at the coming election.

THE HOME MARKET CLUB. SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY,
CHARACTER, AND WORK, BY ITS SECRETARY,
ALBERT CLARKE

In 1886 the late George Draper of Hopedale, Mass.,—a large and successful manufacturer of cotton machinery—conceived the idea of forming an association for the promotion of the principles of protection, and he entered earnestly upon the work of convincing others of its desirability. He spoke and wrote to his business acquaintances and in the spring of 1887 he had satisfied himself that many of the foremost business men in New England shared his views and would join the association when formed. One day in May he met at the United States Hotel in Boston Mr. J. R. Leeson, a Boston merchant, and Mr. Arnold B. Sanford, a Fall River manufacturer, and then and there, in the most informal way possible, they agreed to form such a society and to call it, on Mr. Draper's suggestion, The Home Market Club. A week later they met again, each bringing a few friends, and partially organized by choosing Mr. Draper President and Herbert Radclyffe Secretary. The plan then was to have no admission fee and only one dollar as an annual due, and to depend for income chiefly upon contributions from manufacturers, who would give a small percentage of the annual products of their mills. "American wages for American workmen, American markets for the American people, protection for American homes," was adopted as the Club's motto. The sudden death of Mr. Draper, which occurred on the 7th of June, 1887, was a serious blow, but the organization went forward. After President Cleveland sent his Free-Trade message to Congress in December, 1887, the need of the Club became generally recognized and its membership grew rapidly, being composed mainly of business men. In the spring of 1888 it was decided to make it a permanent institution and to incorporate it under the laws of Massachusetts. A meeting for this purpose was held on the 26th of June, when the necessary agreement was entered into. By-laws were adopted and officers elected on the 10th of July and the charter bears date the 8th of August. It states the formation to be for "educational, benevolent and social purposes, investigating economic and political science and disseminating correct ideas concerning the same, and establishing and maintaining a place for reading rooms and social meetings." The charter members were Timothy Merrick of Holyoke, Beverly K. Moore of Boston, J. R.

Leeson and Amasa Clarke of Boston, F. W. Breed of Lynn, C. H. Sprague of Newton and A. B. Sanford of Fall River.

Timothy Merrick was elected President, Herbert Radclyffe Secretary, and Beverly K. Moore succeeded Wm. Powell Mason as Treasurer, the latter having consented to act only temporarily. Oliver Ames of North Easton and twenty-four others were chosen Vice-Presidents. An Executive Committee of seventy-three was chosen and the charter members above named were constituted a Board of Directors.

The Club engaged actively in the Presidential campaign, holding meetings and circulating literature, and the banner showing its motto was displayed above the platform of the Republican National Convention at Chicago, thus attracting national and even international attention.

The Club was bitterly assailed by free traders on every possible occasion, and especially for erroneously attributing to the London *Times* a statement on one of its circulars that "the only use England has for an Irishman is when he emigrates to America, joins the Democratic party and votes for free trade." Subsequently it was stated by Thomas H. Dudley of New Jersey, U. S. Consul at Liverpool, that the expression was used by William Evans, a member of Parliament, in his hearing, at the Reform Club in London. The outcry against the Home Market Club for this trifling mistake, which was first made by Congressman Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio and later by the N. Y. *Tribune*, revealed a purpose to discredit the Club, if possible, so as to weaken the influence of its publications, but the attack had only a temporary effect. Harrison was elected President, Protection was sustained, and the Club held the first of its large dinners in Mechanics Building, which was called a jubilee.

Before long, however, serious differences arose between the Secretary and the Directors, chiefly in regard to methods, and at the annual meeting, July 10, 1889, Mr. Albert Clarke, the candidate of the Directors, was elected over Mr. Radclyffe, by a vote of 512 to 140, and every year since then has been re-elected by unanimous votes. President Merrick and Treasurer Moore were re-elected, and the new Board of Directors was Timothy Merrick, Arnold B. Sanford, J. R. Leeson, John Hopewell, Jr., Amasa Clarke, Weston Lewis, F. W. Breed, O. S. Greenleaf of Springfield, Walter E. Parker of Lawrence and Eben S. Draper of Hopedale. A large Executive Committee was elected besides.

At a meeting held the following October the by-laws were amended, raising the annual dues to \$5, providing for the election and removal of the Secretary by the Directors, and making other changes of less importance. Later amendments made the Secretary general manager, subject to the Directors, enlarged the Board from nine to twenty-five, reduced the Executive Committee, first from one hundred to nine and afterwards to eight, and gave the Directors power to determine the policy of the Club in case of disagreement in the Executive Committee.

In October, 1889, General Wm. F. Draper of Hopedale, eldest son of the founder, was chosen President. After serving two terms, having been elected to Congress, he declined further service. He has since been U. S. Ambassador to Italy. Among the Vice-Presidents that year were ex-Governors Long of Massachusetts, Cheney of New Hampshire and Fuller of Vermont, and the members of the Executive Committee were Francis W. Breed of Lynn, Alden Speare of Newton Centre, T. Jefferson Coolidge of Boston (since Ambassador to France), Wm. A. Russell of Lawrence (former Member of Congress), Royal E. Robbins of Boston, Charles A. Stott of Lowell, Joseph H. Griswold of Greenfield, Wm. H. Bent of Taunton and G. A. Hammond of Putnam, Conn. In 1891 Mr. David Hall Rice (author of *Protective Philosophy*) was chosen to the Executive Committee.

In 1892 Mr. Wm. H. Bent of Taunton, was chosen President, and he was re-elected the following year. The succeeding Presidents, each holding two years, were Charles A. Stott of Lowell, Wm. B. Plunkett of Adams, George A. Draper of Hopedale (second son of the founder) and Charles H. Hutchins of Worcester.

The present officers, chosen in 1903, are as follows:

PRESIDENT

Robert T. Davis, Fall River.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The former Presidents, and: Stephen A. Knight, Providence, R. I.; Wm. W. Crapo, New Bedford; John B. Smith, Hillsboro Bridge, N. H.; John Hopewell, Cambridge; Henry Fairbanks, St. Johnsbury, Vt.; D. S. Plume, Waterbury, Conn.; W. K. Dana, Westbrook, Me.; James Phillips, Jr., Boston; Lyman B. Goff, Pawtucket,

R. I.; Philip W. Moen, Worcester; Joseph Metcalf, Holyoke; Wm. M. Wood, Boston; George W. Wells, Southbridge; Leontine Lincoln, Fall River; Benjamin Phipps, Boston; Charles F. Fairbanks, Boston; George M. Whitin, Whitinsville; F. A. Sayles, Saylesville, R. I.; Charles A. Marston, Skowhegan, Me.; Norman W. Bingham, Somerville; E. G. Morrison, Tilton, N. H.; R. P. Snelling, Newton Upper Falls; Arthur H. Lowe, Fitchburg; Stephen A. Jenks, Pawtucket, R. I.; Francis J. Regan, Rockville, Conn.; Arnold B. Sanford, Boston; Edward H. Haskell, Boston; A. S. Covel, Boston; O. H. Merrick, Holyoke.

FORMER PRESIDENTS

Wm. F. Draper, Hopedale; Wm. H. Bent, Taunton; Charles A. Stott, Lowell; Wm. B. Plunkett, Adams; George A. Draper, Hopedale; Charles H. Hutchins, Worcester.

DIRECTORS

Term expiring in 1904.—John C. Haynes, Boston; Frederic S. Clark, North Bellerica; John Shaw, Quincy; L. M. Cousins, Portland, Me.; H. O. Houghton, Cambridge; Charles H. Child, Providence, R. I.; Ephraim Hodgdon, So. Berwick, Me.; Arthur Wheelock, Uxbridge; Rufus A. Soule, New Bedford.

Term expiring in 1905.—Thomas N. Hart, Boston; Eben S. Draper, Hopedale; A. B. Valentine, Bennington, Vt.; Edward M. Rockwell, Leominster; Walter E. Parker, Lawrence; Frank W. Cheney, So. Manchester, Conn.; O. H. Sampson, Boston; H. Hodgson, Worcester.

Term expiring in 1906.—H. C. Atwood, Killingly, Conn.; George R. Wallace, Fitchburg; Webster Knight, Providence, R. I.; Wm. A. Russell, Lawrence; Royal Robbins, Boston; W. H. Ames, North Easton; H. Carleton Slack, Springfield, Vt.; S. O. Bigney, Attleboro.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Term expiring in 1904.—Chas. A. Stott, Lowell; Francis H. Manning, Boston.

Term expiring in 1905.—Lew C. Hill, Boston.

Term expiring in 1906.—Lewis R. Speare, Boston; Frank Howell, Boston.

In May, 1889, the first number of the *Home Market Bulletin* was issued. It was only a four-page monthly and not attractive, but its nine-line "Introductory" showed that it had entered a broad field of usefulness, for it said "The primary object of this publication is to furnish facts, statistics and suggestions, illustrating the beneficial effects of the protective policy; to disseminate information in regard to what Protection has done for the welfare of this country in the past, and to advocate a continuance of the system in the belief that similar advantages may be expected to accrue to us in the future." After it had been continued ten years and had become thoroughly recognized as an economic journal, it was changed to a magazine called *The Protectionist*, which was a further enlargement and marked improvement. The four volumes of *The Protectionist* thus far issued, and which are found in the principal public and college libraries, possess great value for reference and are much consulted. Besides this periodical, the Club has issued pamphlets on leading economic questions as they have arisen from time to time and has supplied them in large numbers to local organizations or committees throughout the country. These issues have thus far aggregated nearly 100 million pamphlet pages. There is not a Tariff campaign in any State, and hardly a Tariff debate in a lyceum, college or high school, in which this literature does not exert an influence. It is dignified and candid, thoroughly fortified by authorities, and yet is so interestingly put that it does not lack popular qualities.

Mr. D. Webster Dixon, who has been Treasurer for four years, and had been associated as an editor for several years before, has been a valuable assistant to the Secretary.

The Club has never established a club-house. It rents a business office at 77 Summer Street, Boston, and has no social functions except its annual dinners, which on several occasions have been graced by the President and members of the Cabinet, by Senators and Representatives—in short, the most distinguished statesmen and orators in the country. The dinner to President McKinley in February, 1899, is believed to have been the largest occasion of the kind ever given in the world, but so complete were all the preparations that it moved with military precision and was a most inspiring spectacle.

The Club's membership usually ranges from 1300 to 2500, is composed mainly of manufacturers and merchants, chiefly resident

in New England, and is open to all good men who are believers in the protective policy.

The Home Market Club has had but two secretaries. The first, Herbert Radclyffe, was known as a "hustler," and he did good work in securing a large membership. His successor, and the present incumbent, Albert Clarke, brought the necessary system, scholarship, and executive ability, and the public soon realized that the Club was something more than an ephemeral campaign organization. Whenever he was challenged to a debate he promptly accepted, and the literature which the Club issued developed the principles of Protection and applied them by no end of facts. Soon the Club came to be regarded, as its wise projectors had intended it to be, as a source of trustworthy information from which the people of the whole country—statesmen as well as students—could freely obtain knowledge upon all phases of the great Tariff question. Only three numbers of the *Home Market Bulletin* had been issued when Mr. Clarke became Secretary, and he advised the Directors to either improve the periodical or to discontinue it. They directed him to improve it, which he did. Colonel Clarke's work as a member and chairman of the Industrial Commission is well known. The labor and industries of not only New England, but the whole country, have a staunch and tireless supporter in the Home Market Club and its able Secretary, Albert Clarke.

McKINLEY'S LAST SPEECH, DELIVERED AT BUFFALO,
SEPTEMBER 5, 1901

I am glad to be again in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally honored. To-day I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interest and success.

To the commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British

colonies, the French colonies, the Republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education, and manufacture which the old has bequeathed to the new century.

Expositions are the timekeeping of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student.

Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention, and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and new prices to win their favor.

The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the Western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and, recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will co-operate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the

world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and inventions is an international asset and a common glory.

After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are changed as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers.

Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth.

Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor.

It took a special messenger of the Government with every facility known at the time for rapid transit nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now!

We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shot fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet was hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our

capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption even in ordinary times results in loss and inconveniences. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and awful suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Peking and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the Government of the United States brought, through our minister, the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nation together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other the less occasion is there for misunderstanding and the stronger the disposition when we have differences to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

My fellow-citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of working men throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability.

That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wis-

dom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it.

Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention.

Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvellous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus.

A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.

Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

If, perchance, some of our Tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coast of

Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports.

One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer.

We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coast of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the Republics of the new world. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assembly of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement, which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico.

The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear, this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

Make it live beyond its too short living
With praises and thanksgiving.

Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired, and the high achievements that will be wrought through the exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for

their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence, and friendship, which will deepen and endure.

Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth.

THE ELEPHANT AND THE G. O. P.

The following was prepared for the author by Senator N. A. Elsberg of New York:

How did the elephant come to represent that G. O. P.? It's quite a long story—a story that carries one back farther and deeper into the shifting scenes of political history and the conflicting passions of political action than one might at first imagine. The Tammany tiger, the Democratic donkey, the Republican elephant, these are as familiar to the eyes of the reading public, at least the part of it that reads the illustrated papers—and since most of the newspapers have taken to using illustrations this is by far the greater part,—as are the strains of *Yankee Doodle* to the ears of the average American boy. And yet we doubt whether a single member of that public could explain why these illustrations are used. To trace back the connection between the idea and the form; to discover why an animal was used at all to typify a great political party, and if an animal why the elephant, and not some more heroic symbol, such as the British lion or the American eagle, that is a task which requires some knowledge, not only of the politics but of the every-day events and doings of thirty years ago.

It was in the spring of 1874, the year after General Grant had entered upon his second term as President, and while he was at the acme of his popularity, that the New York *Herald*, then as now a professedly independent newspaper, coming out one morning with a double-leaded political editorial of the regular *Herald* style, first raised a cry against the General, which was eventually turned into a party shibboleth by the Democrats, and made even some of Grant's staunchest supporters hesitate and waver. This was the cry of "Cæsarism." The charge that the soldier-President, already twice elected chief magistrate, was aspiring to a third term, an honor

which no one had ever attained, which even Washington had declined, was made against Grant for partisan purposes and to suit partisan ends. He was represented as a Cæsar, plotting to overthrow the unwritten law against a third term, laid down by the first President, and to make himself a dictator. No one that knew Grant, his sturdy Americanism and patriotic love for his country, ever believed it. Yet so great was his popularity that the very enthusiasm with which he was regarded lent strength to the charge; for people feared that, just because of this popularity, he might succeed in making himself king. The strangest thing of all, however, is that this cry, which, as before said, was initiated by the New York *Herald*, and which led to such momentous consequences—the defeat of the Republicans, in the elections of 1874—was originally raised, not for the purpose of attacking Grant, but more than anything else as a newspaper sensation,—to increase the circulation in an off year. Everybody that knows the temper of the American people, their intense love for their birthrights, a consideration in comparison with which one man, ten men, nay, thousands, are as nothing, must soon recognize the ridiculousness of this “Cæsarism” cry. How much more, then, the sagacious and far-seeing editor of the *Herald*? It was merely a keen journalistic coup, something to make the paper talked about, to make it read. And it succeeded far better than was anticipated. The cry spread like wildfire. Newspaper after newspaper took it up. In the illustrated journals Grant was already represented as wearing a crown. The Democratic politicians, knowing it to be to the interest of their party, of course did everything to fan the flames, and even many Republicans began to be influenced by it and to doubt. Such was the position of political affairs in the summer of 1874, when both parties were already preparing in the different States for the elections of November.

Let us now turn our attention from this for a moment to another journalistic sensation of about the same time. Ask any old New Yorker if he remembers the great Central Park Menagerie scare of 1874, also a *Herald* story. He will surely answer “Yes.” This was a hoax pure and simple—in the expressive although inelegant language of the day, a newspaper “fake.”

One morning in the summer, there appeared in the *Herald* a plausible tale to the effect that the animals in the menagerie had broken loose and were roaming about in the wilds of Central Park

in search of prey. The anxiety of mothers who had sent their children out to the park, the general excitement which ensued until the falsity of the story was announced, may well be imagined. This hoax furnished the text which led to the introduction of the elephant as typical of the party of Union and Freedom. It was a conception of Thomas Nast, the celebrated caricaturist, the man who has done more than any other to impress his ideas and conceptions in the form of cartoons upon our political history.¹ In *Harper's Weekly*, a paper to which Mr. Nast was a regular contributor, and which as a political factor ranked among the most influential, this cartoon first appeared in the issue of November 7, 1874. Its object was to impress upon the public mind the folly and danger of the Democratic cry of "Cæsarism." When the *Herald*, the same paper that had first raised the cry, came out with this menagerie sensation—two stories of about equal calibre and equally unworthy of belief—all the materials for a popular lesson in entertaining form were at hand. And Mr. Nast utilized them.

The caption of the cartoon was the familiar quotation:

An ass, having put on the lion's skin, roamed about in the forest and amused himself by frightening all the foolish animals he met with in his wanderings.

The New York *Herald* was of course represented as the ass, in the lion's skin of Cæsarism, frightening away the different animals. These animals were the various elements of the people and the party. One was the New York *Tribune*; another the Democratic party; a third, the elephant, was taken to represent the Republican vote; not the party, but the vote. Now, Why should the elephant have been taken? the reader may ask. Well, among the elephant's known characteristics are cleverness and unwieldiness. He is an animal easy to control until he is aroused; but when frightened or stirred up, he becomes absolutely unmanageable. Here we have all the characteristics of the Republican vote, the people who had heretofore acted with the dominant party. The best elements of the public, patriotic supporters of the grand old party, they were yet independent and fearless; and if aroused, although groundlessly by this party cry of "Cæsarism"—as the danger was imminent of their being aroused—not even all the ties of their old allegiance would

¹ Mr. Nast not only originated the Republican elephant, but the Democratic donkey, the Tammany tiger, the party whip, etc.

restrain them from voting against the Republican candidates in the election of 1874. How natural, then, to typify this vote by the elephant, whose characteristics were its characteristics!

So it was accordingly done by Mr. Nast, and the elephant as the Republican vote was represented as one of the animals beginning to be frightened by the ass in the lion's skin. The next cartoon in which the idea was used appeared in *Harper's Weekly* of November 21, 1874, after the elections in which the Republicans had been defeated throughout the Union owing to the deceptions of Democratic charlatans and demagogues. The elephant was pictured as having walked into the trap. The Republican vote had been decoyed from its natural allegiance.

The aptness of the idea, the peculiar fitness of the illustration, were at once recognized,—the Republican elephant had come to stay. In the ensuing numbers of *Harper's* and other papers Mr. Nast used it again and again; the elephant as the Republican vote in process of time developed into the elephant as the Republican party, and as typical of the party it has been used ever since, not only by its author, but by other and less original cartoonists. Such is the origin of the Republican elephant, the representative and emblem of the G. O. P.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF 1904—ITS LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CABINET

Secretary of State..... John Hay
 Secretary of the Treasury..... Leslie M. Shaw
 Secretary of War..... William H. Taft
 Attorney-General..... Philander C. Knox
 Postmaster-General..... Henry C. Payne
 Secretary of the Navy..... William H. Moody
 Secretary of Interior..... Ethan A. Hitchcock
 Secretary of Agriculture..... James Wilson
 Secretary of Commerce and Labor..... George B. Cortelyou

REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

CALIFORNIA

Senators :

George C. Perkins
 Thomas R. Bard

Representatives :

James N. Gillett
 Victor H. Metcalf
 James C. Needham
 James McLachlan
 Milton J. Daniels

COLORADO

Representatives :

Franklin E. Brooks
 Robert W. Bonyng
 Herschel M. Hogg

CONNECTICUT

Senators :

Orville H. Platt
 Joseph R. Hawley

Representatives :

George L. Lilley
 E. Stevens Henry
 Nehemiah D. Sperry
 Frank B. Brandegee
 Ebenezer J. Hill

DELAWARE

Senators :

J. Frank Allee
 L. Heisler Ball

IDAHO

Senator :

Weldon B. Heyburn

Representative :

Burton L. French

ILLINOIS

Senators :

Shelby M. Cullom
 Albert J. Hopkins

Representatives :

James R. Mann
 William W. Wilson
 William Lorimer
 Philip Knopf
 Henry S. Boutell
 George E. Foss
 Howard M. Snapp
 Charles E. Fuller
 Robert R. Hitt
 Benjamin F. Marsh
 George W. Prince
 Joseph V. Graff

John A. Sterling
Joseph G. Cannon
Vespasian Warner
William A. Rodenberg
George W. Smith

INDIANA

Senators :

Charles W. Fairbanks
Albert J. Beveridge

Representatives :

James A. Hemenway
Elias S. Holliday
James E. Watson
Jesse Overstreet
George W. Cromer
Charles B. Landis
Edgar D. Crumpacker
Frederick Landis
Abraham L. Brick

IOWA

Senators :

Jonathan P. Dolliver
William B. Allison

Representatives :

Thomas Hedge
Benjamin P. Birdsall
Gilbert N. Haugen
Robert G. Cousins
John F. Lacey
John A. T. Hull
William P. Hepburn
Walter I. Smith
James P. Conner
Lot Thomas

KANSAS

Senators :

Joseph R. Burton
Chester I. Long

Representatives :

Charles F. Scott
Charles Curtis
Justin D. Bowersock
Philip P. Campbell

James M. Miller
William A. Calderhead
William A. Reeder
Victor Murdock

KENTUCKY

Representative :

W. Godfrey Hunter

MAINE

Senators :

William P. Frye
Eugene Hale

Representatives :

Amos L. Allen
Charles E. Littlefield
Edwin C. Burleigh
Llewellyn Powers

MARYLAND

Senator:

Louis E. McComas

Representatives :

William H. Jackson
Frank C. Wachter
Sydney E. Mudd
George A. Pearre

MASSACHUSETTS

Senators :

George F. Hoar
Henry Cabot Lodge

Representatives :

George P. Lawrence
Frederick H. Gillett
Charles Q. Tirrell
Butler Ames
Augustus P. Gardner
Ernest W. Roberts
Samuel W. McCall
Samuel L. Powers
William S. Greene
William C. Lovering

MICHIGAN

Senators :

Russell A. Alger
Julius C. Burrows

Representatives :

Charles E. Townsend
 Washington Gardner
 Edward L. Hamilton
 William Alden Smith
 Samuel W. Smith
 Henry McMorran
 Joseph W. Fordney
 Roswell P. Bishop
 George A. Loud
 Archibald B. Darragh
 H. Olin Young

MINNESOTA

Senators :

Knute Nelson
 Moses E. Clapp

Representatives :

James A. Tawney
 James T. McCleary
 Charles R. Davis
 Frederick C. Stevens
 Clarence B. Buckman
 Andrew J. Volstead
 J. Adam Bede
 Halvor Steenerson

MISSOURI

Representative :

Richard Bartholdt

MONTANA

Representative :

Joseph M. Dixon

NEBRASKA

Senators :

Charles H. Dietrich
 Joseph H. Millard

Representatives :

Elmer J. Burkett
 John J. McCarthy
 Edmund H. Hinshaw
 George W. Norris
 Moses P. Kinkaid

NEVADA

Senator :

William M. Stewart

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senators :

Henry E. Burnham
 Jacob H. Gallinger

Representatives :

Cyrus A. Sulloway
 Frank D. Currier

NEW JERSEY

Senators :

John F. Dryden
 John Kean

Representatives :

Henry C. Loudenslager
 John J. Gardner
 Benjamin F. Howell
 William M. Lanning
 Charles N. Fowler
 R. Wayne Parker
 William H. Wiley

NEW YORK

Senators :

Thomas C. Platt
 Chauncey M. Depew

Representatives

Charles T. Dunwell
 William H. Douglas
 Norton P. Otis
 Thomas W. Bradley
 John H. Ketcham
 William H. Draper
 George N. Southwick
 George J. Smith
 Lucius N. Littauer
 William H. Flack
 James S. Sherman
 Charles L. Knapp
 Michael E. Driscoll
 John W. Dwight
 Sereno E. Payne

James B. Perkins
Charles W. Gillet
James W. Wadsworth
De Alva S. Alexander
Edward B. Vreeland

NORTH DAKOTA

Senators :

Henry C. Hansbrough
Porter J. McCumber

Representatives :

Thomas F. Marshall
Burleigh F. Spalding

OHIO

Senators :

Joseph B. Foraker
Charles Dick

Representatives :

Nicholas Longworth
Herman P. Goebel
Robert M. Nevin
Charles Q. Hildebrandt
Thomas B. Kyle
William R. Warnock
James H. Southard
Stephen Morgan
Charles H. Grosvenor
Amos H. Jackson
Henry C. Van Voorhis
James Kennedy
Jacob A. Beidler
Theodore E. Burton

OREGON

Senators :

John H. Mitchell
Charles W. Fulton

Representatives :

Binger Hermann
John N. Williamson

PENNSYLVANIA

Senators :

Boies Penrose
Matthew S. Quay

Representatives :

Henry H. Bingham
Robert Adams, jr.
Edward Morrell
George D. McCreary
Thomas S. Butler
Irving P. Wanger
H. Burd Cassel
Henry W. Palmer
George R. Patterson
Charles F. Wright
Elias Deemer
Thaddeus M. Mahon
Marlin E. Olmstead
Alvin Evans
Daniel F. Lafean
Solomon R. Dresser
George F. Huff
Allen F. Cooper
Ernest F. Acheson
Arthur L. Bates
William O. Smith
Joseph C. Sibley
George Shiras, III
John Dalzell
H. Kirk Porter
James W. Brown

RHODE ISLAND

Senators :

George P. Wetmore
Nelson W. Aldrich

Representative :

Adin B. Capron

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senators :

Robert J. Gamble
Alfred B. Kittredge

Representatives :

Eben W. Martin
Charles H. Burke

TENNESSEE

Representatives :

Walter P. Brownlow
Henry R. Gibson

UTAH

Senators :

Reed Smoot
Thomas Kearns

Representative :

Joseph Howell

VERMONT

Senators :

William P. Dillingham
Redfield Proctor

Representatives :

David J. Foster
Kittredge Haskins

VIRGINIA

Representative :

Campbell Slep

WASHINGTON

Senators :

Levi Ankeny
Addison G. Foster

Representatives:

Wesley L. Jones
Francis W. Cushman
William E. Humphrey

WEST VIRGINIA

Senators:

Stephen B. Elkins
Nathan B. Scott

Representatives :

Blackburn B. Dovener
Alston G. Dayton
Joseph Holt Gaines
Harry C. Woodyard
James A. Hughes

WISCONSIN

Senators :

John C. Spooner
Joseph V. Quarles

Representatives :

Henry A. Cooper
Henry C. Adams
Joseph W. Babcock
Theobald Otjen
William H. Stafford
John J. Esch
James H. Davidson
Edward S. Minor
Webster F. Brown
John J. Jenkins

WYOMING

Senators :

Francis E. Warren
Clarence D. Clark

Representative :

Frank W. Mondell

DELEGATES FROM TERRITORIES

HAWAII

Jonah K. Kalanianoale

NEW MEXICO

Bernard S. Rodey

OKLAHOMA

Bird S. McGuire

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PORTO
RICO

Federico Degetau

PRINCIPAL U. S. AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS ABROAD

Argentine Republic, Arthur M. Beaupré, Minister
 Austria-Hungary, Bellamy Storer, Ambassador
 Belgium, Lawrence Townsend, Minister
 Brazil, David E. Thompson, Minister
 China, Edwin H. Conger, Minister
 Cuba, Herbert G. Squiers, Minister
 France, Horace Porter, Ambassador
 German Empire, Charlemagne Tower, Ambassador
 Great Britain, Joseph H. Choate, Ambassador
 Italy, George V. L. Meyer, Ambassador
 Japan, Lloyd C. Griscom, Minister
 Mexico, Powell Clayton, Ambassador
 Panama, John Barrett, Minister
 Russia, Robert S. McCormick, Ambassador
 Spain, Arthur S. Hardy, Minister
 Sweden and Norway, William W. Thomas, jr., Minister
 Switzerland, David Jayne Hill, Minister
 Turkey, John G. A. Leishman, Minister
 Venezuela, Herbert W. Bowen, Minister

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS, 1904

California, George C. Pardee
 Colorado, James H. Peabody
 Connecticut, Abiram Chamberlain
 Delaware, John Hunn
 Idaho, John T. Morrison
 Illinois, Richard Yates
 Indiana, Winfield T. Durbin
 Iowa, Albert B. Cummins
 Kansas, Willis J. Bailey
 Maine, John F. Hill
 Massachusetts, John L. Bates
 Michigan, Aaron T. Bliss
 Minnesota, Samuel R. Van Sant
 Nebraska, John H. Mickey
 New Hampshire, Nahum J. Bachelder
 New Jersey, Franklin Murphy
 New York, Benjamin B. Odell, jr.

North Dakota, Frank White
 Ohio, Myron T. Herrick
 Pennsylvania, Samuel W. Pennypacker
 South Dakota, Charles N. Herreld
 Utah, Heber M. Wells
 Vermont, John G. McCullough
 Washington, Henry G. McBride
 West Virginia, Albert B. White
 Wisconsin, Robert M. LaFollette
 Wyoming, Fenimore Chatterton
 Alaska, John G. Brady
 Arizona, Alexander O. Brodie
 Hawaii, George R. Carter
 New Mexico, Miguel A. Otero
 Oklahoma, Thomas B. Ferguson
 Porto Rico, William H. Hunt

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Acting Chairman, Henry C. Payne, Wisconsin, vice Marcus A. Hanna, deceased
 Acting Secretary, Elmer C. Dover, Washington, D. C., vice Perry S. Heath, resigned
 Treasurer, Cornelius N. Bliss, New York

Alabama.....	J. W. Dimmick..Montgomery	Missouri.....	R. C. Kerens....St. Louis
Alaska.....	John G. Healdt..Juneau	Montana.....	C. H. McLeod...Missoula
Arizona.....	W. M. Griffith...Tucson	Nebraska.....	R. B. Schneider..Fremont
Arkansas.....	Powell Clayton..Eureka Spr'gs	Nevada.....	P. L. Flanagan...Reno
California.....	W. C. Van Fleet..San Francisco	New Hampshire..	J. H. Gallinger...Concord
Colorado.....	A. M. Stevenson..Denver	New Jersey.....	Franklin Murphy..Newark
Connecticut...	Chas. F. Brooker..Ansonia	New Mexico.....	Solomon Luna...Los Lunas
Delaware.....	John E. Addicks..Wilmington	New York.....	Geo. R. Sheldon..New York
Dist. Columbia.	Myron M. Parker..Washington	North Carolina..	C. R. Pritchard...Marshall
Florida.....	J. G. Long.....St. Augustine	North Dakota..	Alex. McKenzie..Bismarck
Georgia.....	Judson W. Lyons..Augusta	Ohio.....	M. T. Herrick...Cleveland
Hawaii.....	Samuel Parker...Honolulu	Oklahoma.....	William Grimes..Kingfisher
Idaho.....	D. W. Standrod...Pocatello	Oregon.....	George A. Steel..Portland
Illinois.....	Graeme Stewart..Chicago	Pennsylvania...	Matt. S. Quay...Philadelphia
Indiana.....	Harry S. New...Indianapolis	Rhode Island...	C. R. Brayton...Providence
Indian Ter....	Wm. M. Mellette..Vinita	South Carolina..	John G. Capers...Charleston
Iowa.....	Ernest E. Hart...Council Bluffs	South Dakota...J. M. Greene...Chamberlain	
Kansas.....	D. W. Mulvane...Topeka	Tennessee.....	W. P. Brownlow..Jonesboro
Kentucky.....	John W. Yerkes..Danville	Texas.....	R. B. Hawley...Galveston
Louisiana.....	Lewis S. Clark...Patterson	Utah.....	O. J. Salisbury...Salt Lake City
Maine.....	J. H. Manley...Augusta	Vermont.....	Jas. W. Brock...Montpelier
Maryland.....	L. E. McComas...Hagerstown	Virginia.....	G. E. Bowden...Norfolk
Massachusetts.	G. V. L. Meyer...Boston	Washington.....	Geo. H. Baker...Goldendale
Michigan.....	J. W. Blodgett...Grand Rapids	West Virginia..	N. B. Scott.....Wheeling
Minnesota.....	T. H. Shevlin...Minneapolis	Wisconsin.....	Henry C. Payne..Milwaukee
Mississippi....	H. C. Turley....Natchez	Wyoming.....	W. D. Vandevanter..Cheyenne

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEES

STATES	Chairmen	Post-Offices	Secretaries	Post-Offices
Alabama.....	W. I. Wellman.....	Huntsville.....	N. L. Steele.....	Huntsville
Arizona.....	W. F. Nichols.....	Phoenix.....	George U. Young..	Williams
Arkansas.....	H. L. Rimmel.....	Little Rock.....	W. S. Holt.....	Little Rock
California.....	Wm. M. Cutler.....	Oroville.....	Chas. E. Snook....	Oakland
Colorado.....	D. B. Fairley.....	Colorado Springs.	Chas. W. Cochran..	Denver
Connecticut...	Andrew F. Gates..	Hartford.....	George E. Hinman..	Willimantic
Delaware.....	Henry B. Thompson	Wilmington.....	George B. Hynson..	Wilmington
Florida.....	Henry S. Chubb...Atlanta	Gainesville.....	Joseph E. Lee.....	Jacksonville
Georgia.....	W. A. Pledger....	Atlanta.....	John H. Deveaux...Savannah	
Idaho.....	Frank A. Fenn....	Boisé.....	Geo. A. Robethau...Pocatello	
Illinois.....	F. H. Rowe.....	Jacksonville....	Luman T. Hoy.....	Woodstock
Indiana.....	James P. Goodrich.	Winchester.....	Fred D. Sims.....	Indianapolis
Iowa.....	R. H. Spence....	Mt. Ayr.....	C. W. Phillips....	Des Moines
Kansas.....	Morton Albaugh..	Topeka.....	F. C. Raney.....	Fort Scott
Kentucky.....	C. M. Barnett....	Hartford.....	A. L. Gwathmey....	Anchorage
Louisiana.....	F. B. Williams....	Patterson.....	M. J. McFarlane...New Orleans	
Maine.....	F. M. Simpson....	Bangor.....	Byron Boyd.....	Augusta
Maryland.....	John B. Hanna....	Bel Air.....	John C. Simering...Baltimore	
Massachusetts.	Thomas Talbot...	North Billerica..	James B. Reynolds..Boston	
Michigan.....	Gerrit J. Diekema.	Holland.....	D. E. Alward.....	Clare
Minnesota.....	Robert Jamison...	St. Paul.....	C. C. Whitney....	St. Paul
Mississippi....	Fred. W. Collins..	Jackson.....	L. B. Moseley....	Jackson
Missouri.....	Thos. J. Akins....	St. Louis.....	A. F. Shriner.....	St. Louis
Montana.....	William Lindsay..	Glendive.....	J. B. Collins.....	Forsyth
Nebraska.....	H. C. Lindsay....	Pawnee City....	A. B. Allen.....	Tecumseh
Nevada.....	Geo. T. Mills....	Carson City....	E. D. Vanderlieth..Carson City	
New Hampshire..	Jacob H. Gallinger.	Concord.....	Thos. F. Clifford..Franklin	
New Jersey.....	E. C. Stokes (Act.Ch.)	Trenton.....	John S. Gibson....Newark	
New Mexico.....	Frank A. Hubbell..	Albuquerque.....	José D. Seno.....Santa Fé	
New York.....	Geo. W. Dunn....	Binghamton....	Reuben L. Fox....Oneonta	
North Carolina..	Thos. S. Rollins..	Asheville.....	Robert H. McNeill..Washington, D. C.	
North Dakota..	L. B. Hanna.....	Fargo.....	M. H. Jewell.....Bismarck	
Ohio.....	Jno. B. Clingerman.	Springfield....	Wm. C. Wallace...Columbus	
Oklahoma.....	C. M. Cade.....	Shawnee.....	V. W. Whitney....Enid	
Oregon.....	Frank C. Baker....	Portland.....	Harrison Allen...Astoria	
Pennsylvania...	Boies Penrose....	Philadelphia....	W. R. Andrews...Philadelphia	
Rhode Island...	Frank E. Holden..	Providence.....	Nathan M. Wright..Providence	
South Carolina..	Edmund H. Deas..	Darlington.....	James H. Johnson..Columbia	
South Dakota..	Frank Crane.....	Pierre.....	E. A. Warner.....Pierre	
Tennessee.....	J. W. Borches....	Knoxville.....	J. C. R. McCall...Huntingdon	
Texas.....	E. H. R. Green....	Terrell.....	G. W. Johnson....Corsicana	
Utah.....	James H. Anderson.	Salt Lake City..	Thomas Pitt.....Brigham City	
Vermont.....	Ira R. Allen.....	Fair Haven.....	Alfred E. Watson..Hartford	
Virginia.....	Park Agnew.....	Alexandria....	Asa Rogers.....Richmond	
Washington.....	E. E. Morrison....	Seattle.....	M. E. Hay.....Wilbur	
West Virginia..	W. M. O. Dawson..	Charleston.....	James K. Hall....Wheeling	
Wisconsin.....	George E. Bryant..	Madison.....	Frank T. Tucker..Neillsville	
Wyoming.....	J. A. Van Orsdel..	Cheyenne.....	Robert P. Fuller...Cheyenne	

TABLE SHOWING PRESIDENTS, POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF
CONGRESSES AND TARIFFS SINCE BIRTH OF
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

YEAR	PRESIDENT	Senate	CONGRESS	House of Representatives	TARIFF
1853	PIERCE	Democratic	33d	Democratic	Act of 1846
1854		Democratic	34th	Anti-Nebraska	
1855		Democratic	35th	Democratic	
1856		Democratic	36th	Republican ¹	
1857	BUCHANAN	Democratic	37th	Republican	March 3, 1857 Act of 1857
1858		Democratic	38th	Republican	
1859		Democratic	39th	Republican	
1860		Democratic	40th	Republican	
1861	LINCOLN	Republican	41st	Republican	March 2 and August 5, 1861
1862		Republican	42d	Republican	
1863		Republican	43d	Republican	
1864		Republican	44th	Republican	
1865	JOHNSON	Republican	45th	Republican	Morrill Tariff and Supplementary Laws
1866		Republican	46th	Republican	
1867		Republican	47th	Republican	
1868		Republican	48th	Democratic	
1869	GRANT	Republican	49th	Democratic	October 6, 1890 McKinley Tariff
1870		Republican	50th	Democratic	
1871		Republican	51st	Democratic	
1872		Republican	52d	Democratic	
1873	HAYES	Republican	53d	Democratic	August 28, 1894. Wilson-Gorman Tariff
1874		Republican	54th	Republican	
1875		Republican	55th	Republican	
1876		Republican	56th	Republican	
1877	GARFIELD	Republican	57th	Republican	July 24, 1897 Dingley Tariff
1878		Republican	58th	Republican	
1879		Republican	59th	Republican	
1880		Republican	60th	Republican	
1881	ARTHUR	Republican	61st	Republican	
1882		Republican	62d	Republican	
1883		Republican	63d	Republican	
1884		Republican	64th	Republican	
1885	CLEVELAND	Republican	65th	Republican	
1886		Republican	66th	Republican	
1887		Republican	67th	Republican	
1888		Republican	68th	Republican	
1889	HARRISON	Republican	69th	Republican	
1890		Republican	70th	Republican	
1891		Republican	71st	Republican	
1892		Republican	72d	Republican	
1893	CLEVELAND	Democratic	73d	Democratic	
1894		No party majority	74th	Republican	
1895		No party majority	75th	Republican	
1896		No party majority	76th	Republican	
1897	McKINLEY	Republican	77th	Republican	
1898		Republican	78th	Republican	
1899		Republican	79th	Republican	
1900		Republican	80th	Republican	
1901	McKINLEY	Republican	81st	Republican	
1902		Republican	82d	Republican	
1903		Republican	83d	Republican	
1904		Republican	84th	Republican	
1905	ROOSEVELT	Republican	85th	Republican	
1906		Republican	86th	Republican	
1907		Republican	87th	Republican	
1908		Republican	88th	Republican	

¹ No party majority, but a Republican was elected Speaker.

REPUBLICAN STATES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

1856	1860	1864	1868	1872	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900
	Cal.	Cal.	Ala. Ark. Cal.	Ala. Ark. Cal.	Cal. Col.	Cal. Col. Conn.	Cal. Col.	Cal. Col.	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.
Conn.	Conn.	Conn.	Conn.	Conn. Del.	Conn. Del.					Conn. Del.	Conn. Del.
	Ill. Ind. Ia.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Fla. Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Fla. Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Fla. Ill. Ia. Kans.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Ia.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.	Ill. Ind. Ia. Kans.
Me.	Me.	Me. Md.	Me.	La. Me.	La. Me.	Me.	Me.	Me.	Me.	Me. Md.	Me. Md.
Mass. Mich.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn. Mo.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn. Miss.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.	Mass. Mich. Minn.
			Neb. Nev.	Neb. Nev.	Neb. Nev.	Neb.	Neb. Nev.	Neb. Nev.	Mont. Neb.		Neb.
N. H.	N. H.	Nev. N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H.	N. H. N. J. N. Y.	N. H. N. J. N. Y.
N. Y.	N. Y.	N. Y.	N. C.	N. J. N. Y. N. C.		N. Y.		N. Y.			
Ohio	Ohio Ore. Pa.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	Ohio Pa. R. I. S. C.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I. S. C.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I. S. C.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	N. D. Ohio Ore. Pa. R. I.	N. D. Ohio. Ore. Pa. R. I.
R. I.	R. I.	R. I.	Tenn.						S. D.		S. D.
Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt. Va.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Vt.	Utah Vt.
Wis.	Wis.	W. Va. Wis.	W. Va. Wis.	W. Va. Wis.	Wis.	Wis.	Wis.	Wis.	Wash. Wyo.	W. Va. Wis.	Wash. W. Va. Wis. Wyo.

POPULAR VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

YEAR	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRATIC	OTHER
1856	1,341,264	1,838,169	874,538
1860	1,866,352	2,220,920	589,581
1864	2,216,067	1,808,725	
1868	3,015,071	2,709,615	
1872	3,597,070	29,408	2,839,687
1876	4,033,950	4,264,885	93,898
1880	4,449,053	4,442,035	318,318
1884	4,848,334	4,911,017	285,634
1888	5,440,216	5,538,233	402,411
1892	5,176,108	5,556,918	1,326,325
1896	7,104,779	6,502,925	315,298
1900	7,207,923	6,358,133	393,597

INDEX

A.

- Abbott, Josiah G., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61
- Abolition in New York and New Jersey, i., 7; in Northern States, 35; materializes into practical shape, 83
- Abolition societies, i., 35; membership of, 89
- "Abominations," Tariff of, i., 67
- Adams, Charles Francis, nominated for Vice-President, i., 114; Liberal Republican candidate, ii., 5, 468
- Adams, John, against Slavery, i., 4; Minister to London, 10; elected to the Presidency in 1796, 19; favors Protection, 68
- Adams, John Quincy, Secretary of State, i., 40; candidate for President, 58; as a Republican, 54, 59; and Monroe Doctrine, 59, 60; Cabinet appointments, 60; favors Protection, 70; advocate of anti-Slavery petitioners, 83
- Address of Reform Committee, 1876, ii., 45
- Akerman, Amos T., Attorney-General, i., 516
- Alabama, fight with *Kearsarge*, i., 429; protest to Great Britain regarding, 430; claims, 521
- Alabama, readmission to Union, i., 494
- Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, ii., 431
- Alger, R. A., named for President, 1888, ii., 194; Secretary of War, 353
- Alien and Sedition laws, i., 19
- Allison, William B., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; named for President, ii., 194, 332
- Ambassadors abroad, ii., 539
- Amendment concerning Slavery in Missouri, vote on, i., 45
- Amendments to the Constitution, first twelve, i., 37
- American Conflict*, Horace Greeley's, on failure of Slavery restriction in Ordinance of 1787, i., 8; on accession of Louisiana, 34; on Benjamin Lundy, 85; on the end of the war, 457
- American Iron and Steel Association opposes Cuban Treaty, ii., 429
- American party, council of, 1856, i., 262
- American Protective Tariff League, opposes Cuban Treaty, ii., 429; sketch of, 516
- "American system," Clay's, i., 67, 71; Clay the father of, 107
- Ames, Oakes, condemnation of, ii., 33
- Amnesty Proclamation, i., 425, 511
- Anderson, Robert, evacuation of Fort Sumter, i., 389
- Angelica, N. Y., celebration of birth of Republican party, 1884, i., 212
- Annual Cyclopaedia*, on Morrill Tariff, i., 332; on Liberal Republicans, ii., 9
- Anthony, Henry B., president *pro tem.* of Senate, i., 513
- Anti, President Tyler an ideal, i., 99; evolution of the, ii., 478
- Antietam, battle of, i., 406
- Anti-Federalists, i., 17; favor accession of Louisiana, 33
- Anti-Imperialist League, Convention of, 1900, ii., 499
- Anti-Masonic party, i., 79
- Anti-Nebraska party, candidates and victories of, 1854, i., 218
- Anti-Slavery Journals, i., 89
- Appomattox, surrender of Lee at, i., 454

- Arkansas, reconstruction in, i., 467;
readmission to Union, 494
"Arm-in-Arm" Convention, i., 479
Army, footing of, i., 529
Arthur, Chester A., nominated Vice-
President, ii., 84; inaugural, 95;
on Tariff revision, 104; on Civil
Service Reform, 109; nominated
as candidate for President, 1884,
131; on suspension of silver coin-
age, 165
Articles of Confederation, and
slaves, i., 7
Ashburton treaty, i., 120
Ashley, James M., impeachment
resolution, i., 484, 490
Ashmun, George, president and ad-
dress, convention of 1860, i., 353;
influence with Douglas, 388
Atchison, David R., instructions to
ruffians, i., 239
Atkinson, Edward, *Forum* article
on prices and wages, 1892, ii., 263
- B.
- Back salary grab, ii., 33
Balance of Free and Slave States in
the Senate, i., 43
Bancroft, George, Secretary of the
Navy, i., 110
Banks, Nathaniel P., elected Speak-
er, i., 136; offers resolution re-
garding Cuba, 513
Barker, Wharton, nominated for
President, 1900, ii., 408
"Barnburners," i., 114
Bates, Edward, Attorney-General,
i., 385
Bayard, Thomas F., opposes Demo-
cratic platform, 1872, ii., 10;
member Electoral Commission,
61; named for President, 1880,
86; Secretary of State, 165; Am-
bassador to Great Britain, 277
Bean, Irving M., secretary 1876
convention, ii., 48, 52
Beecher, Edward, becomes an
Abolitionist, i., 92
Belknap, William W., Secretary of
War, i., 513; impeachment of, ii.,
40
Bell, John, nominated for President,
i., 352
Benezet, Anthony, against Slavery,
i., 4
Bentley, Charles E., nominated for
President, ii., 343
- Benton, Thomas H., endorses Jack-
son, i., 79
Berlin and Milan decrees, i., 38
Bidwell, John, nominated for Presi-
dent, 1892, ii., 261
Bimetallism, international confer-
ence on, ii., 230
Bingham, Henry H., on result of
Reed's rules, ii., 243
Bingham, John A., impeachment
proceedings, i., 491, 492
Bingham, Kinsley S., first Republi-
can candidate for Governor, i., 191
Birney, James G., i., 92
Birth of Republican party, i., 1
Bissell, Wilson S., Postmaster-
General, ii., 277
Black, James, nominated for Presi-
dent, 1872, ii., 4
Black, Jeremiah S., Attorney-Gen-
eral, i., 274
Blaine, James G., speech at Strong
celebration of 1884, i., 211; on
Tariff of 1846, 319; vote on Thir-
teenth Amendment, 467; chosen
Speaker, 513; Speaker 42d Con-
gress, ii., 31; Speaker 43d Con-
gress, 37; charges against, 41;
acquittal of, 42; named for Presi-
dent, 1876, 57; named for Presi-
dent, 1880, 82; Secretary of
State, 93; oration on Garfield, 97;
nominated for President, 132,
137; nomination of, made unani-
mous, 140; reception of clergymen
to, 157; on "Rum, Romanism and
Rebellion," 159; Delmonico dinner
to, 160; causes for defeat of, 1884,
163; Secretary of State, 206; nomi-
nation of, at 1892 convention, 254;
on Schurz and office-holders, 466;
disproval of charges against, 482
Blair, Francis P., Jr., nominated
for Vice-President, i., 508
Blair, Montgomery, Postmaster-
General, i., 385
Bland act, ii., 71
Bliss, Cornelius N., Secretary of the
Interior, ii., 353; treasurer National
Committee, 399
Blockade of Southern ports, i., 395
Bloomington, Ill., convention of
1856, i., 272
Bond issues under Cleveland, ii.,
304, 312
Booth, John Wilkes, assassinates
President Lincoln, i., 460

- Borie, Adolph E., Secretary of the Navy, i., 512
- Boston Independents, meeting of, ii., 144
- Boutelle, Charles A., speech at 1888 convention, ii., 198
- Boutwell, George S., on Kansas-Nebraska law, i., 142; vote on Thirteenth Amendment, 467; impeachment proceedings, 492; Secretary of the Treasury, 513
- Bovay, A. E., as father of the Republican party, i., 173
- Bowles, Samuel, author of minority resolution in Virginia Convention of 1855, i., 222; petition to Congress to change Tariff of 1846, 328; in 1854, ii., 476
- Boxer troubles in China, ii., 381
- Bradley, Joseph P., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61
- Brandegge, Augustus, i., 228
- Breckinridge, John C., nominated for President, i., 352
- Breckinridge, Robert J., temporary chairman of 1864 Republican Convention, i., 434
- Brewer, David J., Justice of the Supreme Court, ii., 208
- Brewster, Benjamin H., Attorney-General, ii., 96
- Brimmer, Martin, ii., 45
- Brinkerhoff, Jacob, bolts Liberal movement, ii., 10
- Bristow, Benjamin H., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 37; resignation of, 40; named for President, 1876, 56
- British Orders in Council, i., 38
- Broderick, David C., duel with Terry, i., 304
- Brooks, James, condemnation of, ii., 33
- Brooks, Preston, attack on Sumner, i., 246; challenges Senator Wilson to a duel, 248
- Brough, John, elected Governor of Ohio, i., 423
- Brougham's declaration in the House of Commons, in 1816, i., 42
- Brown, Aaron V., Postmaster-General, i., 274
- Brown, B. Gratz, heads call for anti-Lincoln convention, 1864, i., 431; Liberal candidate, ii., 5; nominated for Vice-President, 9
- Brown, Henry B., Justice of Supreme Court, ii., 228
- Brown, John, at battle of Osawatomie, i., 242; early history of, 305; raid at Harper's Ferry, 307
- Brown, Joseph, remarks of, at 1868 convention, i., 500
- Bryant, William Cullen, bolts Liberal movement, ii., 10; calls conference, 1876, 44
- Bryan, William J., extract from speech at 1896 convention, ii., 339; nominated for President, 1896, 342; nominated for President, 1900, 407
- Buchanan, James, explanation regarding choice of Clay as Secretary of State, i., 63; Secretary of State, 110; and Ostend Manifesto, 243; nominated for President, 263; Cabinet of, 274; on Dred Scott decision, 274; extract from inaugural message, on financial conditions, 317; extract from annual message of 1857, 317; last annual message of, 374; resignation of Cabinet of, 375
- Bullock, Alexander H., ii., 44
- Bull Run, battle of, i., 395
- Burchard address to Blaine, ii., 158
- Burke, on slaves and independence, i., 6
- Burlingame Treaty, ii., 434
- Burr, Aaron, elected Vice-President, i., 30;
- Butler, Benjamin F., in House, i., 484; impeachment proceedings 492; nominated for President, ii., 141
- C.
- Cabinet, Buchanan's, i., 274; of Buchanan resigned, 375; Jefferson Davis's, 382; Lincoln's, 384; Grant's, 512; Hayes's, ii., 69; Garfield's, 93; Cleveland's, 165; Harrison's, 206; Cleveland's second, 277; McKinley's, 353, 417; Roosevelt's, 534
- Calhoun, John C., enters Congress, i., 39; Secretary of War, 40; a Protectionist, 43, 67; becomes a Free-Trader, 68; leader of the South, 74; brief sketch of, 122
- Cameron, J. Donald, calls to order convention of 1880, ii., 74
- Cameron, Simon, Secretary of War, i., 385, 399

- Campaign of 1796, i., 19; of 1800, 29; of 1828, 65; of 1844, 99; of 1856, 263; of 1860, 362; of 1864, 441; of 1868, 508; of 1872, ii., 29; of 1876, 59; of 1880, 87; of 1884, 162; of 1888, 201; of 1892, 262; of 1896, 349; of 1900, 409
- Campbell, A. W., speech in convention of 1880, ii., 76
- Campbell, Justice, opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 280
- Canisius, Theodor, Abraham Lincoln's letter to, i., 337
- Canning, originator of Monroe Doctrine, i., 59, 60
- Carlisle, John G., elected Speaker, ii., 113, 167, 174, 209; Secretary of the Treasury, 277
- Carter, George W., address at 1872 convention, ii., 23
- Cass, Lewis, nominated for the Presidency, i., 114; Secretary of State, 274
- Catron, Justice, opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 280
- Caucus nominations, end of, i., 58
- Centennial Anniversary, ii., 173
- Centennial celebration, i., 520
- Centennial Exhibition, ii., 70
- Chamberlain, E. N., president of Labor Reform Convention, 1872, ii., 3
- Chandler, Zachariah, life of, describes Jackson movement, i., 182; address at Jackson Convention, 185; Secretary of the Interior, ii., 37; chairman National Committee, 1876, 58
- Channing, Rev. Dr., letter to Webster, i., 86
- Chase, Salmon P., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 385, 398; wisdom of, 417; and the Presidency, 468; resignation of, 468; impeachment proceedings, 492; announcement concerning debt, 524; Liberal candidate, ii., 5
- Chase, Samuel, president Prohibition Convention, 1872, ii., 4
- Chautauquan*, on Wisconsin movement, i., 173
- Cherokee Indians, expulsion of, i., 78
- Clarke, Albert, Secretary Home Market Club, ii., 519, 524
- Chili, war with, threatened, 1891, ii., 229
- China, Boxer troubles in, ii., 381
- Chinese exclusion, decision concerning, ii., 309; Legislation on, 434
- Choate, Rufus, on Compromise of 1850, i., 133; favors Buchanan, 264
- Civil Rights bill, i., 476
- Civil Service Commission, ii., 112, 210; Harrison on, 233
- Civil Service, provisions of, i., 518; report of Commissioners, 518; McKinley on, ii., 360; Schurz and, 470
- Civil Service Reform, ii., 32; Hayes on, 68, 69, 73; in platform of 1880, 81; Roosevelt on, 157; Cleveland on, 167
- Clafin, William, opens Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 12
- Clark, Myron H., letter to Cole, i., 203
- Clark, William A., admission to Senate refused, ii., 381
- Clay, Henry, Speaker of the House, i., 39; and the Missouri Compromise, 52; opposes caucus nominations, 55; candidate for President, 59; Secretary of State, 63; on result of Tariff of 1824, 71; "American system" of, 71; nominated for President 80, 104; on annexation of Texas, 103, 106; address to Electoral College, 109; brief sketch of, 120
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, ii., 446, 448
- Clayton Compromise, i., 114
- Clayton, Powell, presented for temporary chairman, 1884 convention, ii., 116
- Cleveland, Grover, defeats Folger, ii., 143; nominated for President, 1884, 141; early career, 142; Cabinet of, 165; on Civil Service Reform, 167; appointments of, 167; Tariff message of, 174; re-nominated, 1888, 199; nomination of, 1892, 261; Tariff straddle of 1892, 267; election of, 1892, result of, 269; on repeal of Sherman law, 277; on Tariff Reform, 285; letter to Wilson, 296; letter to Catchings, 301; on bond issues, 305; veto of River and Harbor bill, 1895, 316; on Cuban question, 351; valedictory of, 352; action on Pension bills, 437
- Clifford, Nathan, member Electoral Commission, ii., 61

- Clinton, DeWitt, nominated for the Presidency, i., 54
- Clisbee, Charles W., secretary 1884 convention, ii., 126
- Cobb, Howell, Secretary of the Treasury, i., 274; resigns, 367; action of 1860, 523
- Coinage bill of 1890, ii., 222
- Cole, A. N., as "Father of the Republican party," i., 202; facts given to the author, 203; letter to *N. Y. Tribune* on birthplace of Republican party, 209; at Angelica celebration, 212
- Coleman, Elihu, against Slavery, i., 4
- Colfax, Schuyler, elected Speaker, i., 424; nominated for Vice-President, 1868, 506; letter of acceptance, 1868, 507; on ratification of Fifteenth Amendment, 516
- Collyer, Robert, ii., 45
- Colonization of slaves, i., 84
- Colwell, Stephen, commissioner, i., 527
- Commerce and Labor, Department of, ii., 426
- Commercial Bulletin*, on reduction of wages, ii., 284
- Compromises of the Constitution, i., 14
- Compromise of 1850, i., 119; generally accepted, 131
- Compromise Tariff of 1833, i., 93
- Confederacy, not the Tariff, real purpose of nullification, i., 77; formation of, 368, 380
- Confederate Congress, acts of, i., 385
- Confederate flags, return of captured, ii., 172
- Confederation and its articles, failure of, i., 10
- Congress, no power over Slavery, i., 15, 36; Thirty-third, 218; Thirty-sixth, 313, 374; Thirty-seventh, 393, 415; war measures of, 447; Thirty-eighth, 424, 428, 446; war measures of, 450; Thirty-ninth, 472, 481; Fortieth, 480, 483; Forty-first, 513, 514, 520; Forty-second, 520; ii., 33; Forty-third, 31, 37; Forty-fourth, 40; Forty-fifth, 70, 71; Forty-sixth, 73; Forty-seventh, 97, 104; Forty-eighth, 113; Forty-ninth, 167; Fiftieth, 174; Fifty-first, 208; Fifty-second, 230; Fifty-third, 277; Fifty-fourth, 306; Fifty-fifth, 355; Fifty-sixth, 376; Fifty-seventh, 419; Fifty-eighth, 426, 429
- Conkling, Roscoe, resolution of, regarding abolishment of Slavery, i., 401; in Senate, 484; named for President, 1876, ii., 57; resolution of, in 1880 convention, 76; nominates Grant, 1880, 82; in campaign of 1880, 87; resignation of, 94; death of, 179
- Connecticut, birth of Republican party in, i., 226
- Conscience Whigs, i., 135
- Conscription laws, i., 418
- Constitutional Convention, assembling of, i., 10
- Constitution, Slavery in, i., 11
- Continental Association, second article of, i., 4
- Conventions, minor, of 1900, ii., 407
- Coolidge, T. Jefferson, Minister to France, ii., 238
- Cooper, Peter, nominated for President, 1876, ii., 46
- Copyright, international, ii., 227
- Cortelyou, George B., Secretary of Commerce and Labor, ii., 426
- Cotton-gin, the, i., 30
- Cotton Whigs, i., 135
- Cox, J. D., Secretary of the Interior, i., 512; Liberal candidate, ii., 5; bolts Liberal movement, 10
- Cox, Samuel S., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; Minister to Turkey, ii., 165
- Coxe, Tench, estimate of manufactures in 1810, i., 43
- Crawford, William H., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 40; defeated in caucus, 56; candidate for President, 58
- Credit Mobilier Affair, ii., 33
- Creswell, J. A. J., Postmaster-General, i., 512
- "Crime of 1876," ii., 65
- Crisp, Charles F., elected Speaker, ii., 230, 277
- Crittenden Compromise, i., 375
- Cuba, coveted by slave power, i., 243; resolution regarding, 513; pledges fulfilled, ii., 483
- Cuban affairs, 1895, ii., 316; McKinley on, 351, 359, 362, 374; in Congress, 363
- Cuban Treaty, ii., 426; passage of, 428; opinions concerning, 429

- Cullom, Shelby M., nominates Grant, 1872, ii., 23
- Curtis, Justice Benjamin R., opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 280; impeachment proceedings, 492
- Curtis, George William, address at Wesleyan University, 1856, i., 266; Civil Service Commissioner, 518; reads Reform Address at 1876 convention, ii., 48, 56; supports Lynch, 1884 convention, 117; on Hawkins resolution, 1884 convention, 124; speech of, nominating Edmunds, 135; action after 1884 convention, 143; on Hendricks, 156; at and after 1884 convention, 470
- Curtiss, George B., his *Protection and Prosperity* on Tariff of 1816, i., 66; on Tariff of 1846, 319; on Panic of 1873, ii., 35; on Tariff of 1883, 107
- D.
- Dallas, George M., nominated for Vice-President, i., 104
- Dallas, John M., on Southern distress, i., 72
- Dana, Richard H., ii., 57
- Daniel, John W., chairman, 1896 Democratic convention, ii., 339
- Daniel, Justice, opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 279
- Davis, David, nominated for President, 1872, ii., 4; Liberal candidate, 5; and Electoral Commission, 62; president *pro tempore* of Senate, 97
- Davis, Edmund J., named for Vice-President, 1880, ii., 84
- Davis, Henry Winter, offers Personal Liberty resolution, i., 377
- Davis, Jefferson, on Compromise of 1850, i., 124; succeeds Calhoun, 303; resolutions censuring the Republican party, 315; elected President of Southern Confederacy, 368, 380; resigns as Senator, 381; his inaugural message, 381; captured, 462
- Davis, J. W., chosen Speaker, i., 111
- Dawes, Henry L., vote on Thirtieth Amendment, i., 467
- Dayton, William L., nominated for Vice-President, i., 260
- Debs, Eugene V., nominated for President, 1900, ii., 407
- Debt, National, i., 524
- Declaration of Independence, omitted paragraph of, i., 6
- Declaration of Paris, i., 520
- Defections from the party, ii., 462
- Defrees, John D., Secretary, i., 495
- Delano, Columbus, as Secretary of the Interior, i., 516
- Delmonico dinner to Blaine, ii., 160
- Democratic administration against Rural Free Delivery system, ii., 438, 439
- Democratic charges, refutation of, ii., 205
- Democratic examination of Republican finances, ii., 205
- Democratic National Convention, 1832, i., 80; 1852, 129; 1856, 263; 1860, 350; 1864, 440; 1868, 508; 1872, ii., 10; 1876, 46; 1880, 85; 1884, 140; 1888, 199; 1892, 259; 1896, 339; 1900, 407
- Democratic national platform, Free Trade planks of, 1848 and 1856, i., 329; 1852, 129; 1864, 440; 1876, plank from, denouncing resumption, ii., 46; 1880, planks of, 85; 1896, minority report, 340; money plank of, 1900, 407
- Democratic party, not the party of Jefferson, i., 53; birth of, 64; dividing, 302; George William Curtis on, ii., 471
- Democratic support in Spanish war, ii., 366
- Democratic-Republican party, so-called, i., 66
- Democrats and Republicans, campaign of 1828 a conflict between, i., 65
- Democrats, loyal, i., 163; disloyal, 465; opposition to war measures, 525; against Pension bills, ii., 437
- Denby, Charles, Minister to China, ii., 207
- Dennison, William, elected Governor of Ohio, i., 305; permanent president of 1864 Republican Convention, 435
- Denslow, Van Buren, on effect of Compromise Tariff, i., 94
- Depew, Chauncey M., elected Secretary of State of New York, i., 423; named for President, 188; ii., 194; introduces R. W. Thompson, 1892 convention, 245; seconds nomination of Harrison, 1892 convention, 255; speech at 1900 convention, 406

- De Tocqueville on external difference between Slave and Free States, i., 169
- Devens, Charles, Attorney-General, ii., 69
- Dewey, George, victory at Manila, ii., 366
- Dickinson, Don M., Postmaster-General, ii., 172
- Dingley, Nelson, speech at Strong celebration in 1884, i., 210; on revenue, ii., 356
- Dingley Tariff, introduction of, ii., 355; passage of, 357; result of, 358
- District of Columbia, original territory of, i., 81; abolishment of Slavery in, 401
- Dix, John A., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 375; action as Secretary of the Treasury, 523
- Dixon, Archibald, on Kansas-Nebraska bill, i., 139
- Dodge, Granville, in House, i., 484
- Dolliver, J. P., on Tariff revision, ii., 313
- Doolittle, James R., permanent president Democratic Convention, 1872, ii., 10
- Dorsheimer, William, reports Democratic platform, ii., 46
- Douglas, Stephen A., on Kansas-Nebraska bill, i., 140; father of Kansas-Nebraska law, 143; on Dred Scott decision, 283; and the administration, 284; not an enemy of Slavery, 296; elected Senator, 297; on foreign slave trade, 303; nominated for President, 352; upholds President Lincoln, 385, 388
- Douglass, Frederick, life of, i., 151; speech at 1876 convention, ii., 51; Minister to Hayti, 207
- Dow, Neal, nominated for President, 1880, ii., 85
- Drafts of 1863, i., 418
- Dred Scott decision, i., 275
- Dun's Review* on prices, ii., 262; on conditions of business, 1893, 285

E.

- Edmunds, George F., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61; named for President, 1880, 82; president *pro tempore* Senate, 113; nominated as candidate for President, 1884, 132
- Egan, Patrick, Minister to Chili, ii., 207
- Electoral Commission, ii., 60, 66
- Electoral system, attempts at change, ii., 40
- Elephant, and G. O. P., ii., 530
- Eliot, John, against Slavery, i., 4
- Elkins, S. B., Secretary of War, ii., 230
- Elsberg, N. A., on Elephant and G. O. P., ii., 530
- Emancipation, President Lincoln and, i., 406
- Emancipation Proclamation, preliminary, i., 410; final, 413
- Embargo act, i., 38, 40
- Emigrant Aid Society, i., 238
- Emmet, Robert, temporary chairman of 1856 convention, i., 255
- Endicott, William C., Secretary of War, ii., 165
- English bill regarding admission of Kansas, i., 285
- English, William H., nominated for Vice-President, 1880, ii., 86
- Erhardt, Joel B., Collector at the Port of New York, ii., 208
- Estee, Morris M., president and address, 1888 convention, ii., 186
- Eustis, James B., Ambassador to France, ii., 277
- Evarts, William M., impeachment proceedings, i., 492; Secretary of State, ii., 69
- Evening Post*, concerning Mugwumps, ii., 146
- Everett, Edward, nominated for Vice-President, i., 352

F.

- Fairbanks, Charles W., chairman and address, 1896 convention, ii., 317; reads platform of 1900, 393
- Fairchild, Charles S., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 172
- Fassett, J. Sloat, chairman and address, 1892 convention, ii., 239; nominated for Governor of New York, 228
- Federalist*, the, i., 15; authors of, 18
- Federalists, the, i., 17; opposed to accession of Louisiana, 33
- Ferry, Thomas W., presiding officer Senate, ii., 37
- Fessenden, William Pitt, Secretary of the Treasury, i., 468
- Field, Cyrus W., ii., 45

- Field, Stephen F., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61
- Fifteenth Amendment, i., 511; ratification of, 515
- Fillmore, Millard, nominated for Vice-President, i., 117; succeeds to the Presidency, 119; nominated for President, 263; on sectional parties, 264; on Dred Scott decision, 282; extract from message of, 1851, 329
- Financial condition of the country, in 1861, i., 523
- Financial law of Fifty-sixth Congress, ii., 379
- Financial Measures of 1862-3, i., 416
- Fish, Hamilton, Secretary of State, i., 513
- Fisk, Clinton B., nominated for President, 1888, ii., 200
- Fittler, Edwin H., named for President, 1888, ii., 194
- Florida, ceded to the United States, i., 97; readmission to Union, 494
- Floyd, John B., Secretary of War, i., 274
- Folger, Charles J., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 96; nominated for Governor of New York, 142
- Foraker, J. P., reports platform of 1896, ii., 322; nominates McKinley for President, 1896, 332; 1900, 399
- "Force bill," 1891, ii., 228
- Foreign policy of Washington and Adams, i., 19
- Forney, John W., on ratification of Fifteenth Amendment, i., 515
- Fort Donelson, taken by Grant, i., 403
- Fort, J. Franklin, speech nominating Hobart, ii., 336
- Fort Sumter, i., 386; surrender of, 389; fourth anniversary of surrender of, 460
- Foster, Charles, Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 228
- Foster, J. Ellen, address at 1892 convention, ii., 251
- Foster, John W., Minister to Russia, ii., 72; Secretary of State, 238
- Foster, Lafayette S., ii., 45
- Fourteenth Amendment, i., 477; enforcement of, 517
- Franklin, Benjamin, against Slavery, i., 4
- Frauds of 1876-7, ii., 66
- Freedmen's Bureau, i., 475, 527
- Freedom, its first triumph, i., 366
- Free-soilers, origin and first platform of, i., 115
- "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Men, Free Labor and Fremont," i., 262
- Free Trade law, anticipation of, 1893, ii., 282
- Free Trade straddle of 1892, ii., 267
- Free-Trader, every Mugwump a, ii., 478
- Frelinghuysen, Frederick T., named for Vice-President, 1876, ii., 58; member Electoral Commission, 61; Secretary of State, 96
- Frelinghuysen, Theodore, nominated for Vice-President, i., 104
- Fremont Association at 1900 convention, ii., 389
- Fremont, John C., nominated for President, i., 260; nominated for President in 1864, 432; withdrawal of, 1864, 444; at 1888 convention, ii., 183; candidate for President, 1864, 462, 463
- Friends of National Industry, convention of, 1819, i., 66
- Fugitive Slave law, i., 126
- Fugitive slaves, legislation concerning, 1792, i., 16
- Fulton, Robert, succeeds with steamboat experiment, i., 38

G.

- Gage, Lyman J., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 353
- Gallatin, Albert, Secretary of the Treasury, i., 39
- Gallinger, J. H., nominates Harrison, 1888, ii., 196
- Gardner, Henry J., elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1854, i., 216
- Garfield, James A., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; resolution concerning repudiation of debt, 514; member Electoral Commission, ii., 61; nominates Sherman, 1880, 82; nominated for President, 1880, 83; campaign of 1880, 87; inauguration of, 91; his appointments, 93; death of, 95; Blaine's tribute to, 97
- Garland, Augustus H., Attorney-General, ii., 165

Garrison, William Lloyd, i., 84, 85;
Frederick Douglass on, 163
Gary, James A., Postmaster-Gen-
eral, ii., 353
Geary, John W., Governor of Kan-
sas, i., 283; statement concerning
actions of Johnson, 491
Geneva award, i., 522
Genius of Universal Emancipation,
the, i., 84
Georgia, in 1733, i., 3; resolutions of
Provincial Congress, 5; cedes
western territory, 15; removal of
Indians from, 61; report of legis-
lature proposing a Southern Con-
federacy, 62; re-admission to
Union, 494
Gettysburg, battle of, i., 419
Ghent, treaty of, i., 89
Gibbons, J. S., on panic of 1857, ii.,
480
Giddings, Joshua, offers resolution
in Republican Convention of
1860, i., 361
Godwin, Parke, ii., 45; article in
Putnam's Monthly, 502
Gold Democracy, resolutions of,
1900, ii., 409
Gold-Democrat Convention, 1896,
ii., 344
Gold dollar, as unit of value, ii., 36
Gold standard established, ii., 379
Gorman, Arthur P., on Cleveland's
letter to Wilson, ii., 298
Gorman-Wilson bill, ii., 295; be-
comes a law, 301
Government deposits, removal of,
from United States Bank, i., 79
Governors, Republican, ii., 539
Grant, Frederick D., Minister to
Austria, ii., 207
Grant, Ulysses S., in Mexican War,
i., 112; on the Tennessee, 403; at
Vicksburg, 420; assumes com-
mand of entire Union forces, 421;
as candidate for President, 1864,
439; letter to Washburne, during
campaign of 1864, 443; General
Order to soldiers, 462; report of,
concerning condition at the
South, 475; correspondence con-
cerning removal of Stanton, 487;
as Presidential candidate, 494;
nominated for President, 1868,
504; letter of acceptance, 1868,
506; elected President, 509; Cab-
inet of, 512; inauguration of, 512;
on ratification of Fifteenth

Amendment, 515; as candidate
for second term, 519; enforce-
ment of Fourteenth Amendment,
ii., 2; appointments of, 3; cry of
"Anything to beat," 4, 5; ap-
proval of, 13; nomination of,
1872, 24; and a third term, 37;
named for President, 1880, 82
Gray, Horace, Justice of Supreme
Court, ii., 97
Greeley, Horace, on effect of Tariff
of 1816, i., 42; on Fugitive Slave
law, 127; on new Republican
party and name, 177; letter to
Cole concerning name of new
party, 203; report of Republican
Convention at Pittsburg, 1856,
250; open letter to President Lin-
coln, 407; alienation from Grant
and the Republican party, ii., 3;
Liberal candidate, 5; and the
Tribune, 1872, 5; characteristics
of, 9; nominated for President, 9;
death of, 29; votes for, 1872, 31;
alienated from Grant, 464; re-
sentment of, 467; and the Liberal
Convention, 468
Greenback Convention, of 1876, ii.,
46; of 1880, 85
Gresham, W. Q., Secretary of the
Treasury, ii., 115; named for
President, 1888, 194; Secretary
of State, 277
Grey, William H., addresses Re-
publican Convention, 1872, ii., 17
Grier, Justice, opinion on Dred
Scott case, i., 279
Groesbeck, William S., impeach-
ment proceedings, i., 492; nomi-
nated for President, ii., 10
Grow, Galusha A., early history of,
i., 334; elected Speaker, 393; and
Homestead laws, 528
Gwin, W. M., a slave Representa-
tive, i., 304

H.

Habeas Corpus, suspension of, i.,
395
Hale, John P., nominated for
President, i., 117, 130; Minister
to Spain, 460
Hall, Benjamin F., his *The Republi-
can Party and its Presidential
Candidates*, i., 66
Hallock, General, assumes com-
mand of Union forces, i., 405

- Hamilton, Alexander, against Slavery, i., 4; Secretary of the Treasury, 17; killed by Burr, 30; report on manufactures, 43
- Hamlin, Hannibal, nominated for Vice-President, i., 360
- Hancock, Winfield S., nominated for President, 1880, ii., 86
- Hanna, M. A., Chairman National Committee, 1896, ii., 332; speech of, 1896 convention, 336; address at 1900 convention, 386; Chairman National Committee, 1900, 399; re-elected Senator, 426; work of, 460
- Harland, John M., ii., 56
- Harper's Ferry, raid at, i., 307
- Harper's Weekly*, on Hendricks, ii., 156
- Harris, Benjamin G., his disloyalty, i., 464
- Harrison, Benjamin, speech in 1880 convention, ii., 83; named for President, 1888, 194; nomination of, 1888, 197; election of, 203; inauguration of, 206; first annual message, 209; on Tariff revision, 209, 231, 272; on free coinage of silver, 232; on Civil Service Commission, 233; nomination of, at 1892 convention, 254, 256; last annual message of, 271
- Harrison, Lynde, statement of, concerning Republican party in Connecticut, i., 226
- Harrison, William Henry, Governor of Northwest Territory, i., 16; defeated for President, 93; elected to Presidency, 96; death of, 97
- Hartford Convention of 1814, i., 39
- Hartranft, John F., named for President, 1876, ii., 57
- Harvey, Charles M., on Ripon movement, i., 172; on Republican party press, ii., 491
- Hatton, Frank, Postmaster-General, ii., 115
- Hawaiian Islands, ii., 440
- Hawaiian treaty, McKinley on, ii., 360
- Hawkins, S. W., resolution of, in 1884 convention, ii., 122
- Hawley, Joseph R., in Connecticut movement, i., 228; permanent president 1868 convention, 498; reads platform of 1872, ii., 24; speech at 1876 convention, 51; presents 1876 platform, 53; named for Vice-President, 1876, 58; nominated as candidate for President, 1884, 131; named for President, 1888, 194
- Hayes, Rutherford B., nominated for President, 1876, ii., 57, 58; elected President, 65; inaugural message, 66
- Hay, John, diplomacy with Chinese Government and the Powers, ii., 382-385
- Hayne, Robert Y., speech in defence of Nullification, i., 75
- Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, ii., 448
- Helper, Hinton R., his *Impending Crisis*, i., 310
- Henderson, David B., elected Speaker, ii., 373, 420
- Henderson, John B., addresses 1872 convention, ii., 23; permanent president, 1884 convention, 126
- Hendricks, Thomas A., nominated for Vice-President, ii., 47, 141; record of, 156
- Henry, Patrick, against Slavery, i., 4; opposes ratification of Constitution, 12
- Herbert, Hillary A., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 277
- Herrick, Myron T., elected Governor, Ohio, ii., 426
- Hidalgo, Guadalupe, treaty of, i., 114
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, ii., 45
- "Higher Law," i., 125
- "High Prices" issue of 1892, ii., 262
- Hill, David B., amendments offered, 1896 convention, ii., 341
- History of the Tariff*, Taussig, extract from, regarding revenue in 1857, i., 331
- Hoar, E. Rockwood, Attorney-General, i., 512
- Hoar, George F., on Free-Soil party, i., 115; on Republican party in 1874, 532; member Electoral Commission, ii., 61; chairman of convention of 1880, 74; on frauds of 1884, 163; on Presidential succession, 171; on James G. Blaine, 482; as a partisan, 485; on Schurz as Secretary of Interior, 469
- Hoar, Samuel, calls Concord meeting, i., 194
- Hobart, Garrett A., nominated for Vice-President, ii., 336; McKinley on, 373

Hodges, A. G., letter of Lincoln to, i., 406
 Holman, William S., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Justice of Supreme Court, ii., 423
 Home Market Club, opposes Cuban Treaty, ii., 420; sketch of, 519
 Homestead law, early attempts at, i., 335; in convention of 1860, 362; credit for, 528
 Homestead riots, ii., 237
 Homestead strike, 1802, ii., 267
 Hooker, General, in command of Eastern army, i., 418
 Hopkins, Mark, ii., 44
 Hopkins, Samuel, against Slavery, i., 4
 Houston, Samuel, in Texas, i., 98
 Howard, Jacob M., names Republican party, i., 184
 Howard, O. O., Chief Commissioner, Freedmen's Bureau, i., 476
 Howard, William A., speech at 1876 convention, ii., 51
 Howe, S. G., commissioner to Santo Domingo, ii., 3
 Howe, Timothy O., Postmaster-General, ii., 97
 Hoyt, John W., ii., 45
 Humphrey, Andrew B., on National Republican League, ii., 506
 "Hunkers," i., 114
 Hunton, Eppa, member Electoral Commission, ii., 61
 Hunt, William H., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 93

I.

Idaho admitted as a State, ii., 227
 Illinois, admitted to the Union, i., 43; Senatorial campaign of 1858, 297; State Republican Convention of 1859, 338
 Immigration, ii., 436
 Impeachment of Johnson, vote on, i., 492
Impending Crisis, Helper's, i., 310; in Congress, 314
 Impressment of American seamen, i., 38
 Income tax, decision concerning, ii., 307
Independent, New York, on Blaine, ii., 155
 Independents, meeting of, ii., 144
 Indiana, memorial from, i., 16; admitted to the Union, 43; birth of Republican party in, 201
 Ingalls, John J., president of Senate, ii., 174
 Ingersoll, Robert G., nominates Blaine, 1876, ii., 57
 Internal revenue, first law, i., 417; other laws, 526
 Internal revenue taxes, during war period, i., 525
 Interstate Commerce Commission, ii., 172
 Isthmian Canal, ii., 239, 446
 Italian Government, trouble with, ii., 228

J.

Jackson, Andrew, candidate for President, i., 59; leader of Democratic party, 64; favors Protection, 70; re-elected President, 75; opposes Nullification, 76; letter to Buchanan on real purpose of Nullification, 77; first administration of, 78; re-elected, 80; recommends prohibition of "incendiary" publications by mail, 89; upon leaving office, 94; on annexation of Texas, 101
 Jackson and Calhoun, quarrel of, i., 74
 Jackson, Howell E., Justice of Supreme Court, ii., 277
 Jackson, Michigan, birth of Republican party at, i., 1; movement for formation of Republican party, 179; Republican platform, 185
 James, Thomas L., Postmaster-General, ii., 93
 Japan, ports of, Commodore Perry enters, i., 136
 Jay, John, against Slavery, i., 4
 Jefferson, Thomas, against Slavery, i., 4; on the rights of British America, 5; explains omission in Declaration of Independence, 6; Minister to Paris, 10; Secretary of State, 17; candidate for the Presidency in 1796, 19; elected President, 30; letter of, to Mr. Livingston, concerning accession of Louisiana, 31; extract from message of, on slave importation, 36; re-elected to Presidency in 1804, 37; extract from message of, regarding Republicans, 53; not Father of Democratic party, 53; favors Protection, 69

Jewell Marshall, Postmaster-General, ii., 37; named for President, 1876, 56; named for Vice-President, 1876, 58; named for Vice-President, 1880, 84

Johnson, Andrew, nominated for Vice-President, i., 439; receives notification of President Lincoln's death, 469; address of, on taking oath, 470; views of, 471; message of, 472; on condition of the South, 473; veto of bills, 476, 477; 1866 convention in support of, 479; extract from Cleveland speech, 480; impeachment of, 484; and Stanton, 485; trial of, vote on, 493; character of, 494

Johnson, Charles W., secretary, 1900 convention, ii., 388

Johnson, Reverdy, Minister to England, i., 521

Johnson, Richard M., nominated for Vice-President, i., 93

Jones, B. F., chairman Republican National Committee, ii., 131; address of, convention of 1888, 180

Julian, George N., nominated for Vice-President, i., 130

K.

Kansas-Nebraska bill, i., 138; vote on, passage of, 142

Kansas, Territory of, i., 138; beginning of struggle in, 237; hostile resolutions against emigrants to, 238; first election in, 240; Congressional investigation into, 241; situation in 1858, 285

Kasson, John A., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; Minister to Berlin, ii., 115

Kearsarge, fight with *Alabama*, i., 429

Keifer, Warren J., elected Speaker, ii., 97

Kellogg, Stephen W., i., 227, 228; ii., 56

Kemble, Frances Anne, book of, on Slavery, i., 148

Kentucky resolutions of 1798, i., 21; admitted to the Union, 43

Kernan, Francis, member Electoral Commission, ii., 61

Kerr, Michael C., elected Speaker, 1875, ii., 40

Key, David M., Postmaster-General, ii., 69

King, Preston, defeated Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1855, i., 226

King, Rufus, candidate of the Federalists, i., 40

Kirkwood, Samuel J., Secretary of the Interior, ii., 93

Knapp, Martin A., Interstate Commerce Commissioner, ii., 228

Knight, George A., on Hawkins resolution, 1884 convention, ii., 123

Knights of the Golden Circle, the, i., 465

"Know-Nothings," origin of, i., 145; victory in Massachusetts in 1854, 216; council at Philadelphia, 1855, 219; split in, 222

Knox, Henry, Secretary of War, i., 17

Knox, Philander, Attorney-General, ii., 417

Ku-Klux-Klan, ii., 1, 464

L.

Labor conventions, 1888, ii., 200

Labor, Grant's message concerning, i., 513; condition of, in United States, ii., 441

Labor legislation, ii., 442

Labor Reformers, first convention of, ii., 3

Labor statistics, bureau of, ii., 114

Lady of the Lake, Frederick Douglass takes name from, i., 163

Lamar, L. Q. C., Secretary of the Interior, ii., 165

Lamont, Daniel S., Secretary of War, ii., 277

Land-Grant Forfeiture law, ii., 227

Lane, Henry S., permanent president of 1856 convention, i., 256

Lapham, Elbridge G., elected Senator, ii., 94

Laurens, Henry, against Slavery, i., 4

Lay, Benjamin, against Slavery, i., 4

Lecompton Constitution, i., 283

Lee, Robert E., in Mexican War, i., 112; assumes command of Confederate forces, 405; at Gettysburg, 419; surrender of, to Grant, 454

Levering, Joshua, nominated for President, ii., 342

Levy, Rev. Edgar M., at 1900 convention, ii., 388

- Lewis and Clark, expedition to Northwest, i., 37
- Liberal Republicans, movement, ii., 4; platform of, 1872, 6; dissatisfaction of, 9; end of, 29; movement, 465; convention of, 1872, 467
- Liberator*, the, i., 85
- Liberty party, i., 96; convention of, 117
- Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Tarbell's, extract from, i., 273
- Life of Samuel Bowles*, Merriam, on George Ashmun, i., 388
- Life of William H. Seward*, Seward's, on "Irrepressible Conflict" utterance, i., 300
- Lincoln, Abraham, first view of Slavery, i., 149; early life of, 230; speeches of 1854, 232; Springfield speech, 232; Senatorial campaign of 1854, 233; first reference to new Republican party, 234; first "half slave and half free" expression, 235; candidate for Vice-Presidential nomination, 260; letter of, Josiah Speed, 268; declines to be candidate for Governor of Illinois, 272; "Lost Speech" of, 273; "Springfield Speech," 287; "House divided against itself" speech, 287; advocates no interference with Slavery, 289; Dred Scott decision, 289; debate with Douglass arranged, 291; letter regarding fusion, 337; convention rail episode, 338; his 1859 Cincinnati speech, 339; Cooper Institute speech, 340; nominated for President, 359; speeches en route to Washington, 369; Baltimore plot to assassinate, 374; inaugural message of, 382; Cabinet of, 384; first call for troops, 389; letter to A. G. Hodges, 406; reply to Greeley's open letter, 408; nominated for President, 1864, 439; during campaign of 1864, 442; re-elected, 444; last annual message of, 446; second inaugural message, 457; assassination of, 460; and reconstruction, 468; relations with Cabinet in 1864, 468
- Lincoln, Abraham*, Nicolay and Hay's, on "Springfield Speech," i., 287; on Wide-Awakes, 343
- Lincoln-Douglass debate, i., 292
- Lincoln, Robert T., tells story of Lee's surrender, i., 460; Secretary of War, ii., 93; Minister to Great Britain, 206
- Livermore's *Historical Research*, extract from, regarding Constitutional Convention, i., 10
- Lockwood, Belva, nominated for President, 1888, ii., 200
- Loco-foco party, i., 135
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, introduction to the *Federalist*, i., 18; presents Lynch for chairman, 1884 convention, ii., 116; ancestry of, 119; on Venezuelan question, 310; president and address, 1900 convention, 390; on Philippines, 391
- Logan, John A., in House, i., 484; impeachment proceedings, 492; nominates Grant at 1868 convention, 504; addresses Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 13; speech at 1876 convention, 51; nominated as candidate for President, 1884, 131; nominated for Vice-President, 140
- Long, Alexander, his disloyalty, i., 464; vote on Thirteenth Amendment, 467
- Long, John D., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 353
- Longstreet, General, at Gettysburg, i., 419
- Louisiana, accession of, i., 31; admitted to the Union, 43; boundary of, 97; reconstruction in, 467; readmission to Union, 494; votes of, thrown out, ii., 63
- Louisiana purchase adds slave territory, i., 33
- Lovejoy, Elijah P., 90
- Lowell, James Russell, Minister to England, ii., 72
- Lundy, Benjamin, i., 83
- Lynch, John R., addresses 1872 convention, ii., 23; presented for chairman, 1884 convention, 117; chairman and address at 1884 convention, 119
- M.
- MacVeagh, Wayne, Attorney-General, ii., 93
- Madison, James, against Slavery, i., 4; elected to the Presidency, 38; re-elected to Presidency, 39; as a Republican, 54; favors Protection, 69

- Maine, admission as a State, i., 51;
birth of Republican party in, 193
Maine, destruction of the, ii., 361
Malvern Hill, battle of, i., 405
Manila, Dewey's victory at, ii., 366;
McKinley on, 375
Manley, Joseph H., on Strong Con-
vention, i., 193
Manning, Daniel, Secretary of the
Treasury, ii., 165
Mantle, Lee, speech of, convention
of 1896, ii., 331
Marcy, William L., "To the victor
belong the spoils," i., 78; recom-
mends prohibition of "incen-
diary" publications by mail, 89;
Secretary of War, 110; Secretary
of State, 243
Marshall, John, appointed Chief
Justice of the Supreme Court, i.,
30
Mason and Dixon's line, i., 3
Mason, James M., Confederate com-
missioner, i., 397
Mason, John Y., and Ostend Mani-
festo, i., 243
Massachusetts, first regiment on
way to Washington, i., 392
Matchett, Charles H., nominated
for President, ii., 343
Mather, Cotton, against Slavery, i., 4
Matthews, Stanley, temporary
chairman Liberal Convention, ii.,
5
Maynard, Horace, Postmaster-Gen-
eral, ii., 72; named for Vice-
President, 1880, 84
McClellan, George B., assumes com-
mand of the army, i., 396; nomi-
nated for President, 441
McClelland, John A., president
Democratic Convention, 1876,
ii., 46
McClure, A. K., in *Our Presidents
and How We Make Them*, on the
telegraph, i., 104; on Garfield and
Conkling, ii., 89; on Republican
vote in Oneida County, 164; on
management of campaign, 1884,
164
McCrary, George W., Secretary of
War, ii., 69
McCulloch, Hugh, Secretary of the
Treasury, i., 458; ii., 115
McDuffie, George, on rights of
Southern States, i., 95
McKenna, Joseph, Attorney-Gen-
eral, ii., 353
McKinley bill, ii., 214; passage of,
221
McKinley Tariff Act, constitution-
ality of, ii., 238
McKinley, William, on wool duty in
Tariff law of 1883, ii., 108; on
Mills bill, 177; reports platform
of 1888, 187; on Tariff law of
1890, 214; president and address,
1892 convention, 241; resolution
of thanks to, 1892 convention,
258; nominated for President,
1896, 336; letter of acceptance,
1896, 344; election of, 349; in-
augural message, 353; on reve-
nue, 354; on Cuban question,
359; on Hawaiian treaty, 360;
on Civil Service, 360; on Hobart,
373; on Cuban affairs, 374; on
South African war, 374; on
Manila affairs, 375; on anniver-
sary of death of Washington,
378; nominated for President,
1900, 399, 403; last annual mes-
sage, 411; inauguration of, 1901,
417; speech at Memphis, 1901,
417; death of, 419; Mugwump at-
tack on, 478; last speech of, at
Buffalo, 524
McLane, Robert M., Minister to
France, ii., 165
McLean, Justice, opinion on Dred
Scott case, i., 280
McMichael, Morton, temporary
chairman Republican Conven-
tion, 1872, ii., 12
McPherson, Edward, president
1876 convention, ii., 52
Meade, General, at Gettysburg, i.,
419
Memorial, Boston, on Slavery in
Missouri, i., 49
Merchant Marine, Harrison on, ii.,
212; Roosevelt on, 421, 430;
author on, 445
Merchants' Magazine, Hunt's, on
conditions in 1854, i., 328
Merrimac, fight with *Monitor*, i., 404
Mexican War, i., 111
Mexico, becomes a Republic, i., 97;
Slavery in, 98; attempts at pur-
chase of, 99
Miller, Samuel F., member Elec-
toral Commission, ii., 61
Miller, Warner, elected Senator, ii.,
94
Miller, William H. H., Attorney-
General, ii., 206

Mills bill, ii., 176; passage of, 178
 Mills, Roger Q., on McKinley bill, ii., 219; prediction of, 283; on Free Trade, 302
 Ministers abroad, ii., 539
 Mississippi admitted to the Union, i., 43
 Missourians cross into Kansas, i., 238
 Missouri Compromise, debate on, i., 46; passage of, 52; repeal of, 170
 Missouri, Territory of, petitions for admission as a State, i., 45; admitted as a State, 52; votes of, convention of 1864, ii., 464
Monitor, fight with *Merrimac*, i., 404
 Monroe Doctrine, i., 60; Roosevelt on, ii., 422
 Monroe, James, Secretary of State, i., 38; elected to the Presidency, 40; re-elected, 40; as a Republican, 55, 56; Cabinet appointments, 57; favors Protection, 69
 Moody, William H., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 423
 Moore, J. Hampton, on National Republican League, ii., 506
 Morey letter, ii., 88
 Morgan, Edwin D., chairman of National Committee, i., 361; addresses convention of 1876, ii., 48
 Morrill, Justin S., i., 331; in Senate, 484; on Tariff bill, ii., 315
 Morrill, Lot M., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 40
 Morrill Tariff, i., 331, 524
 Morrison Tariff bill, ii., 114
 Morrison, W. R., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467
 Morton, J. S., Secretary of Agriculture, ii., 277
 Morton, Levi P., Minister to France, ii., 93; nominated for Vice-President, 199; named for President, 332
 Morton, Oliver P., in Senate, i., 484; on Republican policy and candidate, 519; addresses Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 14; and electoral system, 40; named for President, 1876, 56; member Electoral Commission, 61
 Mugwump attack upon McKinley, ii., 369
 Mugwump, characteristics of, ii., 473

Mugwumpism, failure of, ii., 481, 485, 487
 Mulattoes, census of, i., 167
 Mulligan letters, ii., 41
 Murchison letter, 1888, ii., 201
 Murray, M. J., nominates Roosevelt for Vice-President, ii., 405

N.

National debt, payment of, ii., 304
 National Republican League, ii., 506
 National Republicans, i., 64, 65; Convention of 1831, 80
Nation, the, concerning Mugwumps, ii., 146
 Naval officers, commendation of, i., 531
 Navigation, Bureau of, ii., 114
 Navigation laws, in Constitution, i., 14
 Navy, condition of, i., 529
 Nebraska, Territory of, i., 137
 Negro question, ii., 454
 Nelson, Justice, opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 279
 Nelson, Thomas A. R., impeachment proceedings, i., 492
 New Hampshire, ninth State to ratify Constitution, giving it life, i., 13
 New, John C., United States Treasurer, ii., 37
 New York, birth of Republican party in, i., 202; conventions of 1854, 204; vote of, for Vice-President, 1900 convention, ii., 406
 New York *Herald*, 1885, extract from, i., 328
 New York *Times*, as moulding public opinion, i., 295; optimism of, 480
 New York *Tribune*, editorial from, on "Past and Future of the Republican Party," i., 208; editorial from, on party names, 214; as moulding public opinion, 295; on hard times under the Tariff of 1846, 323; on sentiment at outbreak of war, 391; on dark horse conference, 1884 convention, ii., 121; on G. W. Curtis after 1884 convention, 143; on meeting of Independents, 1884, 144; editorial to Mugwumps, 160
 Niles on British action during Tariff of 1816, i., 42

- Noble, John W., Secretary of the Interior, ii., 206
- Non-intercourse act, i., 38
- "North Americans," communication from, at 1856 convention, i., 261
- North Carolina, cedes western territory, i., 15; re-admission to Union, 494
- North, the, aroused, i., 171
- Northwestern territory of the original States, i., 7
- Noyes, E. F., addresses 1872 convention, ii., 23; speech at 1876 convention, 51, 57
- Nullification, doctrine, defence and ordinance of, i., 75
- O.
- Oberlin, the, affair, i., 302
- Observer*, the, i., 90
- O'Connor, Charles, nominated for President, 1872, ii., 4
- O'Connor, Edmund, presents name of Whitelaw Reid for Vice-President, 1892 convention, ii., 257
- October elections of 1856, i., 266
- Office, removals from, i., 79
- Office-seekers disappointed, ii., 464, 467
- Oglesby, Richard J., statement concerning actions of Johnson, i., 491; addresses Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 17
- Oglethorpe, James, founds a colony in Georgia, i., 3
- Ohio, admitted to the Union, i., 16, 43; birth of Republican party in, 201, 219; campaign and election of 1859, 304
- Oklahoma lands opened, ii., 228
- Olmstead, Frederick Law, writings on Slavery, i., 148; on Southern enlightenment, 169; nominated for Vice-President, ii., 10
- Olney, Richard, Attorney-General, ii., 277
- Ordinance of 1784, i., 8
- Ordinance of 1787, i., 9
- Ordinance of Secession, South Carolina, i., 367
- Oregon, admitted as a State, i., 336; and Electoral Commission, ii., 62
- Orr, James L., addresses Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 16
- Osawatomie, battle of, i., 242
- Osborn, Charles, i., 83
- Osgood, Samuel, ii., 45
- Ostend Manifesto, i., 243
- Ottendorfer, Oswald, bolts Liberal movement, ii., 10
- Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, A. K. McClure's, on the telegraph, i., 104; on candidacy of Greeley, ii., 28; on Garfield and Conkling, 89; on Republican vote in Oneida County, 164; on management of campaign, 1884, 164
- P.
- Palmer, Henry S., temporary chairman, Democratic Convention, 1868, i., 508
- Palmer, John M., withdraws name of Lincoln, i., 261; remarks at 1868 convention, 501; Liberal candidate, ii., 5; nominated for President, 344
- Palmer, Thomas W., Minister to Spain, ii., 207
- Panama Republic, ii., 449
- Panama Treaty, ii., 450; ratified, 454
- Panic of 1837, i., 96; of 1873, ii., 34; of 1893, 281, 285; of 1857, Gibbons on, 480
- Parker, Joel, nominated for Vice-President, 1872, ii., 4
- Partisanship, a plea for, ii., 487
- Party changes, i., 135; loyalty to, ii., 485
- Party Press, *The Republican*, ii., 491
- Payne, Henry B., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61
- Payne, Henry C., Postmaster-General, ii., 423
- Peace Congress, i., 368, 380
- Pendleton bill, ii., 112
- Pendleton, George H., nominated for Vice-President, i., 441; vote on Thirteenth Amendment, 467; Minister to Germany, ii., 165
- Pennington, William, elected Speaker, i., 315
- Pennsylvania, Abolition Society, i., 34; birth of Republican party in, 219
- Pension laws, i., 528; ii., 437
- Personal Liberty laws, adoption of, i., 128; repeal of, 377
- Petition of Quakers against slave trade, i., 15; of Pennsylvania Abolition Society to Congress, 35

- Phelps, Edward J., Minister to Great Britain, ii., 165
 Phelps, William Walter, Minister to Germany, ii., 207
Philanthropist, the, i., 83
 Philippines, occupation of, ii., 369; commission, personnel and report of, 370; insurrection, 372; McKinley on, 412; instructions concerning, 413; Roosevelt on, 432
 Phillips, Wendell, becomes an Abolitionist, i., 92
 Pickett, General, at Gettysburg, i., 419
 Pierce, Franklin, nominated for President, i., 129; elected to the Presidency, 130
 Pierce, Henry L., ii., 44
 Pierrepont, Edwards, Attorney-General, ii., 37; presents platform of 1880, 78
 Pinchback, P. B. S., ii., 56
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, on the Constitution, i., 12
 Pinkney, William, champions Slavery in the Senate, 1820, i., 47
 Platt amendment, ii., 414
 Platt, Thomas C., resignation of, ii., 94
 "Plumed-Knight" speech of Ingersoll, ii., 57
 Poland, Luke P., in House, i., 484; seconds Bristow's nomination, 1876, ii., 56
Political Parties and Party Problems, Woodburn's, lines from, i., 132
 Political parties, before election of Washington, i., 17
 "Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of 1842," i., 107
 Polk, James K., nomination of, i., 103; his letter to Kane, 108; election of, 109; Cabinet of, 110; makes offer for Cuba, 243; on condition of the country in 1846, 318
 Pomeroy, Samuel C., nominated for President, ii., 141
 Pomeroy, Theodore M., chairman, 1876 convention, ii., 48
 Porter, Albert G., nominates Harrison, 1888, ii., 194; Minister to Italy, 207
 Porter, Horace, seconds nomination of Reid, 1892 convention, ii., 257
 Porto Rico, revenue laws concerning, ii., 380
 Postage, reduction of, ii., 113
 Postal frauds, ii., 431
 Postal legislation, ii., 437
 "Prayer of Twenty Millions, The," i., 407
 Presidential succession, bill providing for, ii., 169
 President's salary, increase of, ii., 33
 Prices, ii., 262, 263
 Privateering, abolition of, i., 520
 Proctor, Redfield, Secretary of War, ii., 206
 Prohibition party, first convention of, ii., 4; convention of 1880, 85; of 1888, 200; of 1896, 342
 Prohibition Reform Convention, 1876, ii., 46
Protection and Prosperity, George B. Curtiss's, on Tariff of 1816, i., 66; on Tariff of 1846, 319; on panic of 1873, ii., 35; on Tariff law of 1883, 107
 Protection, quotations from Presidents, favoring, i., 68
 Protection sentiment increasing in the North, i., 67
 Protectionists, policy of, i., 43
 Protective Tariff, first, i., 40
 "Publius," articles signed by, i., 14
Putnam's Monthly, extracts from, ii., 502
- Q.
- Quakers, petitions of, i., 15
 Quay, Matthew S., admission to Senate refused, ii., 381
- R.
- Race question, Harrison on, ii., 211
 Ramsey, Alexander, Secretary of War, ii., 72
 Randall, Samuel J., vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; elected Speaker, ii., 70; last Tariff speech, 178
 Randolph, Edmund, Attorney-General, i., 17
 Randolph, John, and the phrase, "Mason and Dixon's line," i., 3
 Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, temporary chairman, Democratic Convention, 1872, ii., 10
 Raum, Green B., Commissioner of Pensions, ii., 208

- Raymond, Henry C., reports Republican platform of 1864, i., 436
- Reciprocity treaties, under McKinley law, ii., 229
- Reconstruction, in Congress, i., 467; conditions of, 481; address to Southern people, concerning, 482; acts of 1870, 515
- Redpath, James, on John Brown, i., 309
- Reeder, Andrew H., as Governor of Kansas, i., 239
- Reed, Thomas B., dog fable, ii., 178; new House rules, 213; address at 1892 convention, 240; result of House rules of, 243; withdrawal of name of 1892 convention, 258; on silver legislation, 274; on Tariff bill of 1894, 292; on Cleveland's letter to Wilson, 297; on House rule concerning Gorman-Wilson bill, 299; chosen Speaker, Fifty-fourth Congress, 307; on reassuming the Speakership, 309; named for President, 332; elected Speaker, 355
- Reform movement of 1876, ii., 43
- Reid, Whitelaw, letter to author concerning name "Republican," i., 212; Minister to France, ii., 206; nominated for Vice-President, 257, 258
- Removals and appointments, ii., 111
- Republican, as party name, i., 177
- Republican Association of Washington, i., 249
- Republican Conventions, at Pittsburgh, 1856, call for, i., 250; call for first, 254; 1856, 255; 1860, 353; 1864, 433; 1868, 495; 1872, ii., 11; 1876, 47; 1880, 74; 1884, 116; 1888, 180; 1892, 239; 1896, 317; 1900, 383
- Republican Governors, 1904, ii., 539
- Republican members of Congress, resolution of, 1857, i., 285; 1904, ii., 534
- Republican National Committee, 1856, i., 256; 1904, 540
- Republican office-holders, ii., 459
- Republican party, birthday and birthplace of, i., 2; the early, 53; of 1824, factions of, 63; origin of, 173; Strong, Maine, celebration of birth of, 210; movements in 1855, 219; its first identity with a Protective Tariff, 333; Seward on, 1860, 348; approves Congressional action, 479; what it stands for, ii., 457; has made but one mistake, 461; future of, 461; George William Curtis on, 470
- Republican party press, ii., 491
- Republican platform of 1856, i., 257; of 1860, 355; of 1864, 436; of 1868, 502; of 1872, ii., 24; of 1876, 53; of 1880, 78; of 1884, 127; of 1888, 188; of 1892, 247; of 1896, 322; of 1900, 393; of 1904, 534
- Republican Reform Club, address of, 1876, ii., 48
- Republican Senators in 1856, i., 245
- Republican States in Presidential elections, ii., 540
- Republican success, 1894, ii., 306; 1903, 426
- Republican tickets of 1854, i., 206
- Republican victories in elections of 1854, i., 216
- Republicans, and Democrats, campaign of 1828 a conflict between, i., 65; resolution concerning College, ii., 258; and pensions, 437; duty of, 458
- Reserve fund of \$150,000,000 established, ii., 379
- Resignation of Southern members of Congress, i., 368
- Resolution, joint, confirming acts of President, i., 394
- Resolutions on departed Republicans, at 1888 Convention, ii., 187
- Restriction of Slavery, in Missouri, advocates and opponents of, i., 46
- Resumption of specie payment, anticipation of, ii., 36, 72; text of act, 38
- Reward, \$100,000, for Northern heads, i., 344
- Rhode Island, last State to join the Union, i., 13
- Rhodes, James Ford, on Slavery compromises in Constitution, i., 14; on the Abolition movement, 87; on Slavery, 149; on Ostend Manifesto, 245; on Republican party, in 1856, 266; on speakers of 1860, 363
- Rice, Allen Thorndike, Minister to Russia, ii., 207

Richardson, William N., appointed Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 34

Richmond, abandonment of, i., 453

Richmond *Examiner*, on political power of the South, i., 168

Ripon, Wisconsin, as place of first Republican meeting, i., 174

Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, on origin of the Republican party, i., 173

River and Harbor bill, 1895, veto of, ii., 316

Roberts, Ellis H., Assistant United States Treasurer at New York, ii., 208

Robertson, William H., i., 484; nomination of, for Collector, ii., 94

Robeson, George M., Secretary of the Navy, i., 513

Rockwell, Julius, nominated for Governor of Massachusetts, i., 223

Roosevelt, Theodore, supports Lynch, 1884 convention, ii., 118; on Civil Service Reform, 157; Civil Service Commissioner, 208; seconds nomination of McKinley, 1900, 402; nominated for Vice-President, 1900 convention, 403, 406; succeeds McKinley, 419; first annual message of, 420; on Tariff and Trusts, 424; on Merchant Marine, 430; Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 460; President, 1904, 534

Root, Elihu, retires as Secretary of War, ii., 433

"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," in Burchard's address to Blaine, ii., 159

Runyon, Theodore, Ambassador to Germany, ii., 277

Rural Free Delivery System, ii., 438

Rush, Benjamin, against Slavery, i., 4

Rusk, Jeremiah M., named for President, 1888, ii., 194; Secretary of Agriculture, 206

S.

Salaries of Republican office-holders, ii., 459

Sanborn, F. B., and John Brown, i., 306

Santo Domingo, annexation of, ii.,

2; treaty of, 3; annexation of, Grant abandons, 33, 464, 467

Schenck, Robert C., defeats Vandalism, i., 421

Schofield, John M., Secretary of War, i., 493, 512

Schurz, Carl, speeches during campaign of 1864, i., 444; temporary chairman 1868 convention, 496; submits planks to platform of 1868, 504; permanent president Liberal Convention, ii., 5; bolts Liberal movement, 10, 44; Secretary of the Interior, 69; Brooklyn speech of, 1884, 147; and the Liberal - Republican movement, 465; and Tenure-of-Office act, 466; as Cabinet officer, 469; and Civil Service, 470

Scott, Winfield, nominated for President, i., 129; resignation of, 396

Seelye, Julius H., ii., 44

Senate, United States, free and slave States, balance of, i., 134

Senate Committee, report on prices, 1892, ii., 263

Settle, Thomas, chairman Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 20; named for Vice-President, 1880, 84

Sewall, Arthur, nominated for Vice-President, 1896, ii., 342

Sewell, Samuel, against Slavery, i., 4

Seward, William H., takes seat in Senate, i., 118; his "higher law" expression, 124; throws down the gauntlet regarding Kansas, 237; "Irrepressible Conflict" utterance, 290; on Democratic party, 300; on Republican party, 301; reward for head of, 345; speech on admission of Kansas, 346; speech of January, 1861, 379; Secretary of State, 384; action regarding *Trent* affair, 397; attack on life of, 461

Seymour, Horatio, permanent president of Democratic Convention, 1864, i., 440; his disloyalty, 464; permanent president of 1868 convention, 508; nominated for President, 508

Shannon, Wilson, succeeds Reeder as Governor of Kansas, i., 241

Shaw, Leslie M., Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 423

- Sherman, John, in Senate, i., 484; Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 69; named for President, 1880, 82; nominated as candidate for President, 1884, 132; president *pro tempore* Senate, 167; named for President, 1888, 194; Secretary of State, 353
- Sherman, William T., march through Georgia, i., 430; succeeds Grant, 529
- Sherman Anti-Trust act, ii., 224, 308, 445
- Sherman Silver purchase law of 1890, ii., 224; repeal of, 276, 277
- Shiloh, battle of, i., 403
- Shipbuilding law, passage of, 1892, ii., 234
- Shiras, George, Jr., Justice of Supreme Court, ii., 238
- Sickles, General, at Gettysburg, i., 419
- Silver, demonetization of, ii., 36; coinage of, 71; free coinage of, Harrison on, 232; coinage bill, Senate, 236; legislation, a bill for, 274; free coinage of, 315; substitute platform of 1896, 327; plank of Democratic platform, 1896, 339; Republicans, vote of, 483
- Slave breeding, i., 37
- Slaveholders, condition of, i., 165; Northern influence of, 169
- Slave importation, prohibition of, i., 36
- Slave power increasing, i., 81
- Slavery, early growth of, i., 3; barred from the Northwestern territory, 10; in the Constitution, 11; at beginning of Union, 13; becomes a sectional question, 15; early spread of, 36; evils of, 149; exemplification of, 153; extract from *Springfield Republican* regarding, 167; in Virginia "Know-Nothing" Convention of 1855, 221
- Slaves, first brought to America, i., 2; number of, in 18th century, 3; as soldiers, 7; singing of, 159; female, degradation of, 166; classification of ownership of, 168
- Slave trade, in Washington, i., 82; petitions for abolition of, in District of Columbia, 82; foreign, 303
- Slidell, John, Confederate Commissioner, i., 397
- Smith, Caleb B., Secretary of the Interior, i., 385
- Smith, Charles Emory, Minister to Russia, ii., 228
- Smith, Gerrit, becomes an Abolitionist, i., 92; addresses Republican Convention, 1872, ii., 14
- Smith, Green Clay, nominated for President, 1876, ii., 46
- Smith, Hoke, Secretary of the Interior, ii., 277
- Smith, William Henry, on Wilmot Proviso, i., 113
- Snowdon, A. Loudon, Minister to Spain, ii., 238
- Soule, Pierre, and Ostend Manifesto, i., 243
- South African war, McKinley on, ii., 374
- South at mercy of the slaves, i., 7
- South Carolina, holds up sister States, i., 13; secession convention, 367; re-admission to Union, 494; and Electoral Commission, ii., 62
- Southern Confederacy formed, i., 368, 380
- Southern distress, cause of, i., 72
- Spanish war, ii., 365, 366
- Sperry, N. D., i., 227, 229
- Springfield Republican*, extract from, regarding Slavery, i., 167; on Concord movement, 194; on Worcester Conventions of 1854, 195, 198; on Worcester Convention of 1855, 224; on Saratoga, New York, Convention of 1854, 205; on Massachusetts election in 1854, 217; on Massachusetts election of 1855, 226; as moulding public opinion, 295; on hard times of 1855, 324, 325; editorial on Tariff, 1855, 325; comments on, ii., 475
- Squatter Sovereign*, *The*, threats of, i., 240
- "Squatter Sovereignty," first expression of, i., 113
- Stanbery, Henry, impeachment proceedings, i., 492
- Stanton, Edwin M., Attorney-General, i., 368, 475; Secretary of War, 400; and Johnson, 485
- Stanwood, Edward, on count of electoral votes, 1889, ii., 203; on tin fraud of 1892, 264; on James G. Blaine, 482

Star of the West intercepted, i., 368

State Bank, establishment of, i., 39

State representation in Constitution, i., 14

States, joining the Confederacy, i., 393; Republican in Presidential elections, ii., 541

States' Rights, early a burning question, i., 14; development of, 29

Stephens, Alexander H., Vice-President of Southern Confederacy, i., 380

Stevens, Thaddeus, on his own epitaph, i., 466; impeachment proceedings, 490

Stevenson, Adlai E., nominated for Vice-President, 1892, ii., 261; nominated for Vice-President, 1900, ii., 407

Stewart, A. T., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 512

St. John, John P., nominated for President, ii., 142

Storrs, Emory A., addresses 1872 convention, ii., 23

Streeter, Alson J., nominated for President, 1888, ii., 200

Strikes on Northern railroads, 1877, ii., 70

Stringfellow, John H., editor *The Squatter Sovereign*, address to the people, i., 240

Strobach, Paul, addresses 1872 convention, ii., 23

Strong, Maine, convention of 1854, i., 193; celebration of birth of Republican party, 210

Strong, William, member Electoral Commission, ii., 61

Subsidies, ii., 445

Sugar bounty, Roger Q. Mills on, ii., 220

Sumner, Charles, election as Senator, i., 131; speeches against Slavery, 132; address at Worcester Convention of 1854, 198; "Crime against Kansas Speech," 246; attack on, 246; resolution by, concerning reconstruction, 467; alienation from Grant and the Republican party, ii., 3, 464

Suspension of specie payment, i., 525

Swallow, Silas C., nominated for President, 1900, ii., 408

T.

Taft, Alphonso, Minister to Vienna, ii., 115

Taft, William H., Secretary of War, ii., 433

Taft, W. N., on the old soldier, 1888 convention, ii., 182

Tallmadge, amendment introduced by, concerning Slavery in Missouri, i., 45

Tammany, Society of, address of, i., 66

Taney, Roger B., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 79; opinion on Dred Scott case, 278

Tanner, James, Commissioner of Pensions, ii., 208

Tappan, Lewis, becomes an Abolitionist, i., 92

Tariff, the, discussed by the early fathers, i., 40; during War of 1812, 41; of 1816, 41; 66; of 1824, 67; of 1828, 67; of 1828, the South against, 68; of 1832, 75; Compromise, of 1833, 77, 93, 94; of 1842, 318; of 1846, 318; *Springfield Republican* on, 324, 325; of 1857, 330; Morrill, 332; plank of Vermont Convention, 1854, 333; the, question, an early principle of the Republican party, 362; clause of Confederate Constitution, 381; Shanks resolution concerning, 514; measures during and following the war, 525, 526; question in Liberal Republican Convention, ii., 6; of 1872, 34; question, in campaign of 1880, 88; Commission, 101; report of, 102; Commission bill, 105; law of 1883, 105; message, Cleveland's, 174; revision, Harrison on, 209; Harrison on, 231; "Pop-gun" bills, 236; McKinley on, 241; plank of Democratic platform, 1892, 259; Free Trade straddle of 1892, 267; measure in House, 1895, 312; and Trusts, Roosevelt on, 425; *Springfield Republican* and, 479

Taylor, John W., defends restriction, 1819, i., 48; against caucus nominations, 55

Taylor, Zachary, sent to Mexico, i., 111; elected President, 117

Teller, Henry M., speech in convention of 1896, ii., 328

- Tennessee admitted to the Union, i., 43
- Tenure-of-Office act, i., 485; ii., 465
- Terry, Judge, duel with Broderick, i., 304
- Texas, claim to, i., 97; independence of, 98; annexation of, 100; annexation of, arrangements completed, 110
- Thayer, Eli, organizes Emigrant Aid Society, i., 239
- Third term, House resolution against, ii., 40
- Thirteenth Amendment, i., 453; history of, 465
- Thomas, Lorenzo, accepts Secretaryship of War, i., 489
- Thomas, Phillip F., sale of Treasury note, i., 523
- Thomas, Senator, introduces Compromise, i., 51
- Thompson, Jacob, Secretary of the Interior, i., 274
- Thompson, Richard W., reports Republican platform of 1868, i., 502; ii., 56; Secretary of the Navy, 69; address of, 1892 convention, 245; nominates Harrison, 1892 convention, 254
- Thurman, Allen G., member Electoral Commission, ii., 61; nominated for Vice-President, 1888, 200
- Thurston, John M., chairman, 1888 convention, 181; chairman and address, 1896 convention, 320; seconds nomination of McKinley, 1896, 334
- Tilden, Samuel J., his disloyalty, i., 464; at 1868 convention, 509; nominated for President, ii., 47; estimate of, 66
- Tin fraud of 1892, ii., 264
- Toucey, Isaac, Secretary of the Navy, i., 274
- Tourgee, Albion, *Tribune* letter defining Republican position, 1884, ii., 153
- Tracy, Benjamin F., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 206
- Treasury deficit, ii., 304
- Treaty of Paris, ii., 368; of 1846, 453; of Washington, 522
- Troops withdrawn from the South, ii., 69
- Trent*, the, affair, i., 396
- Troupe, Governor, of Georgia, denounces Senator King, and the Attorney General, i., 61
- Trumbull, Lyman, speech of, in reply to Jefferson Davis, i., 378; Liberal candidate, ii., 5
- Trust amendment defeated, ii., 444
- Trusts, and the Tariff, Roosevelt on, ii., 425; and the Republican party, 444
- Turner, Nat, leader of Virginia insurrection, i., 88
- Tweed Ring in New York, i., 509
- Two-thirds Rule, adoption of, i., 80
- Tyler, John, becomes President, i., 97; resignation of Cabinet of, 100; fears Republican success, 265
- U.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, i., 136
- Union League of America, address of, 1872, ii., 21
- United States Bank, i., 39, 79, 94
- Utah admitted as a State, ii., 303
- V.
- Vallandigham, C. L., i., 421; officer of Golden Circle, 465; and Liberal-Republican movement, ii., 465
- Van Allen, J. J., Ambassador to Italy, ii., 277
- Van Buren, Martin, elected Vice-President, i., 75; elected President, 93; on annexation of Texas, 102; nominated for President, 114
- Van Cott, Cornelius, Postmaster at New York, ii., 208
- Van Zandt, Charles C., amendment by using word Republican, at 1868 convention, i., 501
- Venezuelan boundary question, ii., 309
- Vermont, admitted to the Union, i., 43; birth of Republican party in, 193; and Electoral Commission, ii., 63
- Vicksburg surrendered to Grant, i., 420
- Vilas, William F., Postmaster-General, ii., 165
- Virginia, Slavery inaugurated on soil of, i., 2; resolutions of 1798, 27; election of 1855 and effect on "Know-Nothing" party, 219

Vote, on Slavery article of Ordinance of 1784, i., 8; on Wilson bill, ii., 295; in Presidential elections, 541
 Vote, Popular and Electoral, 1856, i., 267; 1860, 365; 1864, 445; 1868, 510; 1872, ii., 30; 1876, 64; 1880, 90; 1884, 162; 1888, 204; 1892, 270; 1896, 350; 1900, 410

W.

- Wade, Benjamin F., commissioner to Santo Domingo, ii., 3, 57
 Wages, reduction of, ii., 284
 Waite, Morrison R., appointed Chief Justice, ii., 34
 Wakeman, Wilbur F., Treasurer and Secretary American Protective Tariff League, ii., 516, 518
 Walker, Robert J., Secretary of the Treasury, i., 110; Governor of Kansas, 283
 Wanamaker, John, Postmaster-General, ii., 206; recommends village free-delivery service, 439
 War Democrats, ii., 2
 War of Revolution, men furnished by different States, i., 6
 War of 1812, i., 38
 Ward, Marcus L., chairman of Republican National Committee, i., 495
 Warner, John DeWitt, on destruction of workingmen, ii., 296
 Warren, Joseph, in *Detroit Tribune*, advocates fusion of all parties, i., 180; names Republican party, 184
 Washburne, Elihu B., Secretary of State, i., 512; Minister to France, 513; named for President, 1880, ii., 82; named for Vice-President, 1880, 84
 Washburn, Israel, advocates new Republican party, i., 179
 Washington becomes seat of Government, i., 81
 Washington, George, against Slavery, i., 4; second election of, 18; favors Protection, 68; McKinley on anniversary of death of, ii., 378
 Washington, Mrs., remark about a Democrat, i., 65
 Watson, Thomas E., nominated for Vice-President, ii., 343
 Watterson, Henry, chairman Democratic Convention, 1876, ii., 46; reports Democratic platform, 1880, 85; on Free Trade and Protection, 303
 Wayne, Justice, opinion on Dred Scott case, i., 279
 Ways and Means Committee, McKinley bill in, ii., 217; Fifty-third Congress, 285
 Weaver, James B., nominated for President, ii., 85, 261
 Webster, Daniel, on Ordinance of 1787, i., 9; eulogy of Hamilton, 18; enters Congress, 39; a Free-Trader, 43, 67; Boston Memorial drafted by, 49; becomes a Protectionist, 68; on results of Tariffs of 1824 and 1828, 71; reply to Hayne, 75; Secretary of State, 97; on annexation of Texas, 100; 7th of March speech, 118; brief sketch of, 120
 Welles, Gideon, Secretary of the Navy, i., 385; reports concerning Navy, 529, 530
 Wells, David A., commissioner, i., 527; letter of Charles Francis Adams to, ii., 5; bolts Liberal movement, 10
 Wesley, John, against Slavery, i., 4
 West, L. S. Sackville, Murchison letter, 1888, ii., 201
 West, William H., speech of, nominating Blaine, ii., 132
 Western territory of original States, i., 7
 Wheeler, William A., nominated for Vice-President, 1876, ii., 58; elected, 65
 Whig party, birth of, i., 80; first platform of, 104; last convention of, 129; convention of 1856, 263
 Whiskey Ring, ii., 39
 White, Andrew D., commissioner to Santo Domingo, ii., 3; Minister to Berlin, 72; Minister to Russia, 238
 White, Henry, Grant's third term letter to, ii., 37
 White, Horace, ii., 44
 White, Stephen M., chairman 1896 Democratic Convention, ii., 339
 Whitefield, George, against Slavery, i., 4
 Whitefield, John W., as delegate from Kansas, i., 239, 242

- Whitney, Eli, invents cotton-gin, i., 30
- Whitney, William C., Secretary of the Navy, ii., 165
- Whittier, John G., becomes an Abolitionist, i., 92; Blaine message, ii., 160
- Wide Awakes, i., 343
- Wilderness, battle of the, i., 429
- Wilkes, Captain, seizes *Trent*, i., 397
- Williams, George H., as Attorney-General, i., 516
- Williams, Thomas, impeachment proceedings, i., 492
- Wilmot, David, offers famous proviso, i., 112; temporary chairman of Republican Convention of 1860, 353
- Wilmot Proviso, i., 113
- Wilson bill, ii., 288; vote on, 295
- Wilson, Henry, on British encouragement of Slavery in America, i., 3; nominated for Governor of Massachusetts, 199; goes over to Gardner in 1854, 216; elected to U. S. Senate, 220; on "Know-Nothing" party, 220; on Slavery, 221; chairman of Military Committee of the Senate, 447; summary of anti-Slavery measures, 447; nominated for Vice-President, 1872, ii., 28; presiding officer Senate, Forty-third Congress, 37; death of, 37
- Wilson, James, Secretary of Agriculture, ii., 353
- Wilson, James F., impeachment proceedings, i., 492
- Wilson, William L., on Tariff bill of 1894, ii., 288; on House surrender to Senate, Gorman-Wilson bill, 301
- Wilson, Woodrow, on James G. Blaine, ii., 482
- Windom, William, vote on Thirteenth Amendment, i., 467; Secretary of the Treasury, ii., 93, 206; death of, 228
- Wing, Simon, nominated for President, 1892, ii., 261
- Winthrop, Robert C., i., 113
- Wirt, William, Attorney-General, i., 40; nominated for President, 80
- Wisconsin, birth of Republican party in, i., 201; and Electoral Commission, ii., 63
- Wise, Henry A., on extension of slave territory, i., 99; campaign against "Know-Nothings," 219
- "With malice toward none, with charity for all," i., 458
- Wolcott, Edward O., nominates Blaine at 1892 convention, ii., 254; chairman and address, 1900 convention, 387
- Woman's Republican Association at 1892 convention, ii., 251
- Woman's Suffrage at 1876 convention, ii., 53
- Woodford, Stewart L., nominates Conkling, 1876, ii., 39, 57; named for Vice-President, 1876, 58
- Woodman, John, against Slavery, i., 4
- Woods, William B., made Chief Justice, ii., 73
- Woolley, John G., nominated for President, 1900, ii., 408
- Woolsey, Theodore D., ii., 44
- Wool Tariff, Cleveland on, ii., 174
- Worcester, Massachusetts, conventions of 1854, i., 195, 198; convention of 1855, 224; anniversary of birth of Republican party, 1879, 207
- Wright, Carroll D., Commissioner of Labor, ii., 115
- Wright, Luke E., Governor of the Philippines, ii., 433
- Wright, Silas, nominated for Vice-President, i., 104
- Wyandotte Constitution, i., 285
- Wyoming admitted as a State, ii., 227

X.

X. Y. Z., the, affair, i., 20

Y.

Young, Lafayette, nominates Roosevelt for Vice-President, 1900, ii., 403

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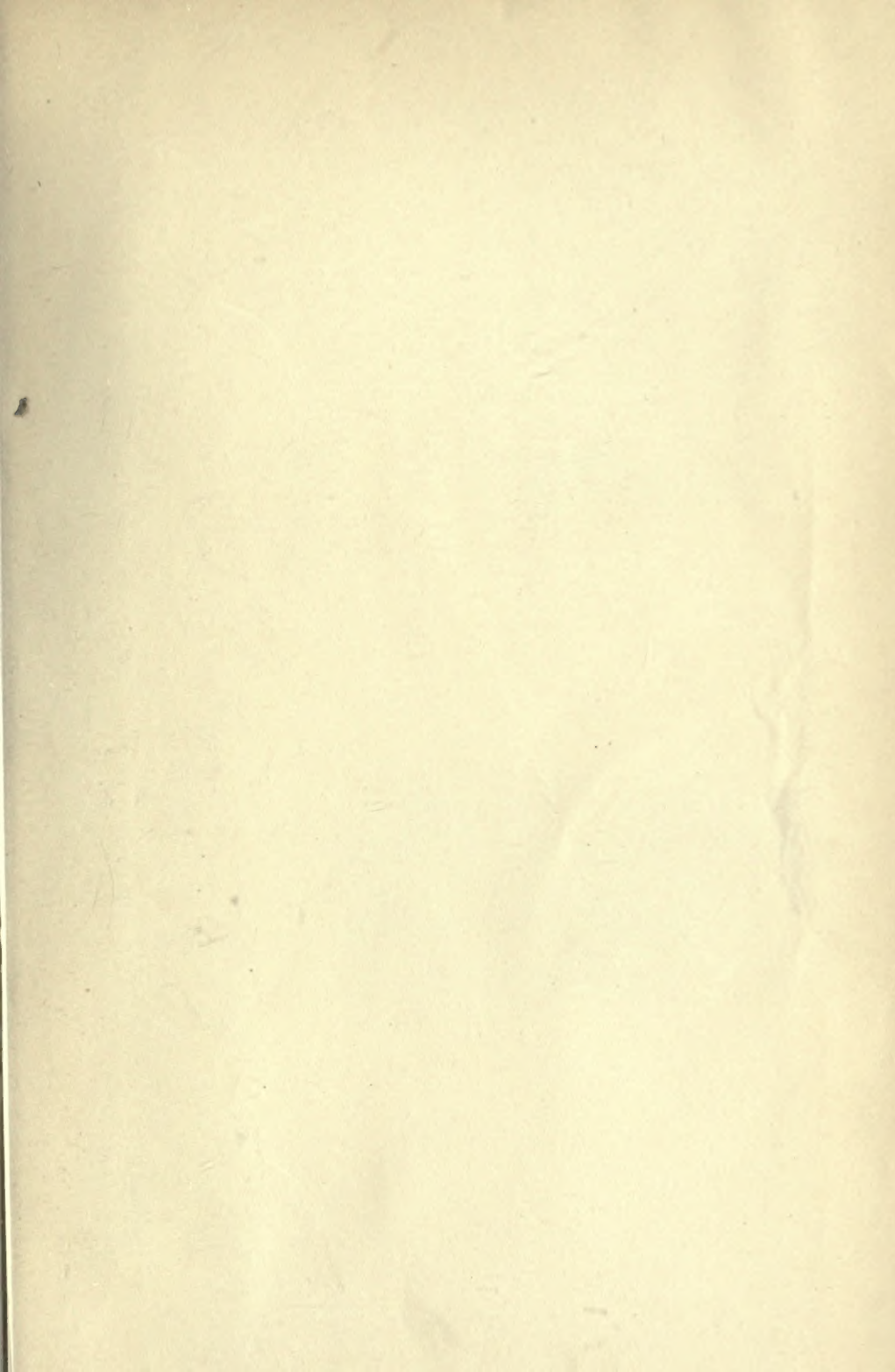
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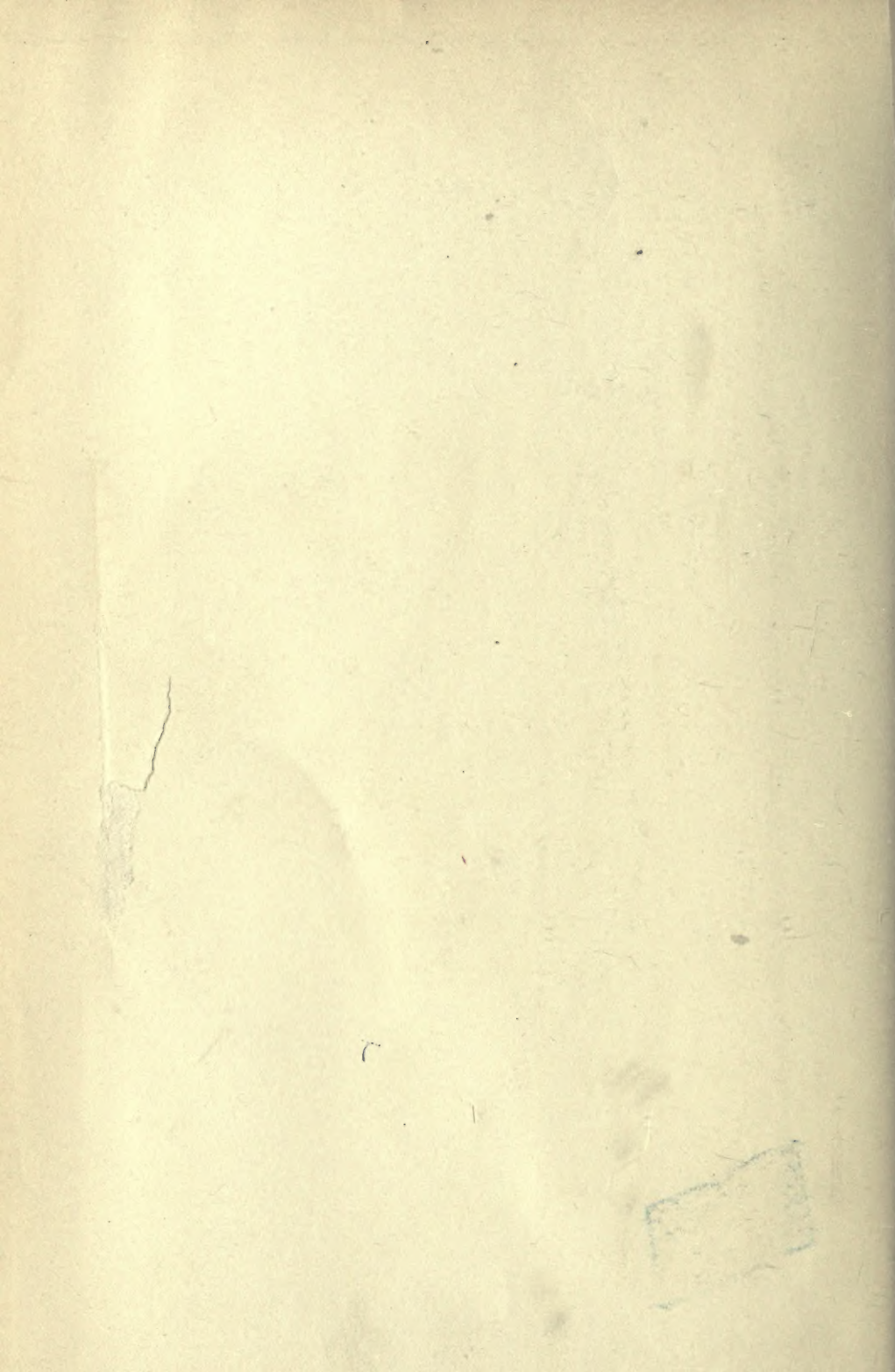
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